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**Two Poems of Antonio Enriquez Gomez: Romance al divin martir, Juda Creyente and Sanson Nazareno.**

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TWO POEMS OF ANTONIO ENRIQUEZ GOMEZ:

Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente and Sansón Nazareno

(~~edited texts~~ with introduction and notes)

BY

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This study concerns the period of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's last years in France, from 1647 to 1649, and the two poems written at that time, Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente and Sansón Nazareno.

In Part I, the biography of the poet is outlined and two aspects of it, the auto de fe of 1660 and the identification with Fernando de Zárate, examined in detail. The attention is then concentrated (Chapter Two) on the last years of Enríquez Gómez's life in France and the motives for his return to Spain examined in the light of biographical data and the expression of Judaic identity found in the Romance and Sansón Nazareno.

Chapter Three begins the full examination of Enríquez Gómez's religious views with the detailed study of the Romance, its source manuscripts, authorship, dating, structure and content. The discussion is broadened in Chapter Four to encompass religious ideas revealed in other writings of the poet.

With the evidence of his Judaic faith and identity in mind, the major poem, Sansón Nazareno, is examined in detail for its relationship with the biblical source (Chapter Five), its national, religious and personal themes (Chapter Six) and as an example of the epic genre (Chapter Seven). The conclusion is drawn that Antonio Enríquez Gómez was a crypto-Jew who had a deeply-rooted sense of Jewish identity and commitment to Judaism and that the two poems should be considered as expressions of those feelings.

In Part II the texts of Romance al divín mártir and Sansón Nazareno are presented with textual study and notes.

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Timothy Oelman.

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The biography of Antonio Enríquez Gómez provokes many questions and no period of it more so than that of his last years in France from 1647 to 1649. At the end of that time, he left Rouen and returned to Spain: the same years saw the production of two poems, different in content and kind but linked by common themes, particularly martyrdom and messianism. These were the Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente and Sansón Nazareno.

The purpose of this study is 1) making use of the Romance and the available biographical data, to examine the poet's religious attitudes and beliefs from the evidence of his background, the sources of Jewish knowledge available and the poetry itself, and in doing so attempt to explain the motives for his return to Spain,

2) to analyse in depth Sansón Nazareno, both in relation to themes expounded in the first part of the study and as an epic poem,

3) to present the text of the Romance which has hitherto remained in manuscript, and the text of the Sansón which was first published in 1656 and a second edition of which is long overdue.

It will be argued that Antonio Enríquez Gómez was in fact a crypto-Jew, a Marrano in the strict sense of the term, that both poems are expressions of his Judaic faith and commitment to the cause of Israel, that the key to his departure for Spain lies in the themes which both poems explore and, finally, that the poem Sansón Nazareno is worthy of respect in its own right as an important example of the epic genre.



PART IChapter One: The biography of Antonio Enríquez Gómez.

1) With the help of the evidence provided by I.S.Révah<sup>1</sup> from his study of Inquisitional records, we now know that Antonio Enríquez Gómez was born in Cuenca in 1600, of a New Christian father, Diego Enríquez Villanueva, and Old Christian mother, Isabel Gómez. His paternal grandfather, Diego de Mora, had been arrested in about 1588 for judaising and had died in an Inquisition gaol; his father, also a crypto-Jew, was arrested and condemned by the Inquisition of Cuenca shortly before 1624. The latter went into exile in France, where, his first wife having died, he married Catarina de Fonseca, whom he had apparently sent from the Jewish Community of Amsterdam. Of this union there were three children, Miguel Enríquez, Esteban Enríquez (born 1631) and Diego (baptised, Nantes, 1634).

Antonio spent his early years in Cuenca, Seville and Madrid. A reference in the Academias morales de las Musas (1642) suggests that it was in Cuenca that he won his first accolade as a poet, by winning a poetry prize there: 'Si el laurel te pareciere muy verde, en quarenta años, aun ay primavera: lo que te podré asegurar, es, que el Monarcha de la Poesía me le dio entre dos Rios y un Monte poblado de edificios pues la primera vez que le vi, fue en Cuenca' (fol. 9<sup>r</sup>).<sup>2</sup> In Seville he was employed by his paternal uncle, Antonio Enríquez de Mora, for whom he was later to act as commercial agent when his uncle left for Bordeaux (he was to continue to do so later when his uncle went to Italy and he remained in France). He appears to have made several trips to France on business, staying either with his uncle in Bordeaux or his father in Nantes. In 1618, in Zafra, Antonio married, like his father, an Old Christian, Isabel Basurto, the sister of Pedro Alonso Basurto, later to become priest of Aravaca and of Rosas and agent of the Inquisition.

There were three children of this marriage, Diego Enríquez Basurto (born c. 1624), Leonor and Catalina (she married Constantino Ortíz de Urbina, a 'familiar' of the Inquisition and later commercial correspondent of Enríquez Gómez). By 1624, he was established in commerce in Madrid.<sup>3</sup> It was at this date that he attempted to retrieve from the Inquisition property belonging to him and to his mother which had been confiscated on account of his father's prosecution.

At the same time in Madrid, he was making himself a reputation as a poet and writer of comedias. According to his preface to Sansón Nazareno, he wrote 22 plays largely in this period,<sup>4</sup> of which, according to his friend, Manuel Fernandes Vilareal, El Cardenal de Albornoz and Fernán Méndez Pinto (2 parts) were the most successful.<sup>5</sup> He appears to have frequented the circle of Lope de Vega and was acquainted with writers such as Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Luis Vélez, Miguel de Silveira and Isaac Cardoso.<sup>6</sup> When Lope died, he contributed a sonnet (beginning 'No tu vida, tu muerte soleniza', f.58) to Montalbán's anthology Fama póstuma (1636). On the other hand, Lope himself had not rated Enríquez important enough to mention amongst the poets he praised in Laurel de Apolo (1630), nor Montalbán for inclusion in his list of ingenios in his Para todos (1636). Nonetheless, he appears to have had a literary career in Madrid of moderately successful proportions - sufficient to attract constant censure from some quarters, to judge from the poet's own words: 'No sé si mi Sansón con toda su fuerza se podrá llegar a la sombra de los ingenios que han escrito poemas: si la invidia le cortare los cabellos no será por soberbia, será por desgraciado ...sale al amparo, no de los los zoilos, cínicos ni momos....sino al de los sabios y prudentes' and '... no puedo dejar de escribir ni mis émulos de censurar.' (S.N. Prólogo, pp.iv-v & viii)<sup>7</sup>

On 12 May, 1634, Enríquez Gómez was called to give evidence in the trial



of Bartolomé Febos, son of Antonio Rodrigues Lamego, one of the leaders of the crypto-Jewish community of Rouen. This must have been a trying moment for the poet, not only in view of his family background (see above) and of his own possible crypto-Judaism,<sup>8</sup> but because the relentless machine of the Inquisition had a habit of investigating in succession those who were witnesses or were drawn by association with the accused into the trial they were conducting. This 'chain of persecution' has been well exposed by Julio Caro Baroja:<sup>9</sup> at the end of the Febos trial, a list of those that had testified for him was drawn up and many were investigated in their turn, for example, Isaac Cardoso and Miguel de Silveira. Thus, Antonio Enríquez Gómez must have thought that he too was to be drawn into the web. In his case, a certain Luis de Ves had been called to testify concerning what he knew of an incident in which Juan Aventot had called Febos a Jew, when he delayed payment on a letter of credit. Ves confirmed the nature of the outburst (which Aventot himself claimed was against the issuer of the letter of credit) but claimed he knew nothing of Febos himself nor of his father, except what he had learned from Antonio Enríquez Gómez 'mercader del Red de San Luis' (Madrid). This led to Enríquez and his wife being called to testify. It so happened that Febos' uncle, Luis de Oliveira, also lived in the Red de San Luis; moreover, Enríquez frequented Febos' house, the haunt of a brilliant company of merchants, artists, poets, etc., (including Cardoso and Silveira) and like Febos, he also maintained commercial relations with suspected Jews or crypto-Jews abroad. In all, then, he must have had great cause for alarm.

This may explain why, despite his claim to be repeating only that which is common knowledge ('lo qual es publico y notorio....'), his testimony goes further in implicating Febos as a member of the judaising faction in Rouen than one might think strictly necessary.



In one as astute and political as Antonio Enríquez Gómez, one cannot imagine that this was accidental, rather that he thought that his own person was safer if he gave evidence of a positive nature instead of an unrevealing repetition of known facts.<sup>10</sup> He repeats the opinion of Jerónimo de Fonseca, at whose instigation (to clear his father's name) the Inquisition sent a mission to Rouen to make enquiries, that the investigator's judgement 'en que los muchos [i.e. judaisers] avian probado biuir cristianamente' was a travesty of justice. He states further that of those judaizers that Fonseca and his friends mentioned he could only recall the names of Lamego and Febos: 'el dicho fonseca y otros tres portugueses ... hauian delatado de los muchos portugueses de los quales solo se acuerda que nombro a Antonio Rodriguez Lamego que era en vno dellos y padre de Bartolome febos vecino de esta corte y portugues como todos los demas...'

Nevertheless, Enríquez Gómez must have decided to take no chances and so he left for France toward the end of 1635 or in 1636, despite the Franco-Spanish war. Of his departure he later said: 'Estrañarás(y con raçon) aber dado a la emprenta ese libro en estrangera patria: respóndate la Elegía que escribí sobre mi peregrinación, si no voluntaria, forçosa; y si no forçosa, ocasionada por algunos que, ynficionando la República, recíprocamente falsos, venden por antídoto el beneno a los que militan debaxo del Solio...' (Ac.mor. Prólogo, fol 9<sup>v</sup>) In other words, he was aware that there were malsines who, out of commercial or religious or other rivalry would denounce him to the Inquisition. As for the date suggested, Révah gives no evidence, but a literary reference may be adduced in support here: in the work just quoted, Academias morales, published in 1642, he speaks of 'seis años de ausencia'(p.420) which points to the date mentioned.

Once in France, Enríquez first went to Peyrehorade and later Bordeaux, both towns where there was a sizeable community of New Christians with a large proportion of crypto-Jews amongst them. In Bordeaux his uncle, Antonio Enríquez de Mora, was a prominent member of this community and in 1636 (4 December) was responsible with Sebastian Dias for drawing up a list of 'Portuguese' (i.e. all those of Spanish or Portuguese origin) as a precautionary measure connected with the war (those that lived on the city ramparts were to be moved).<sup>11</sup> Antonio Enríquez de Mora is described as 'naturalisé', which indicates that he had lived in France for some time (at least three years). Later on, following a royal edict of 23 May, 1641, Antonio Enríquez Gómez, together with his cousin, Francisco Luis Enriquez de Mora paid a tax of 1,225 livres levied on members of the 'Portuguese nation' in that city.<sup>12</sup>

In that same year (1641), Antonio Enríquez Gómez published a poem, entitled Triumpho lusitano,<sup>13</sup> in praise of João IV, king of newly independent Portugal, and of the mission of his first ambassadors to France. This formed part of Enríquez's political activities on behalf of the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy which he had begun under the influence of his friend Manuel Fernandes Vilareal, whom he had apparently known in Madrid. This association is also seen in the laudatory poems written by the poet for Vilareal's treatise Político christianissimo (Pamplona, 1641): these poems were dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu, which suggests that he had contacts in that quarter, too. Certainly Vilareal was in good standing with the Cardinal, received him on several occasions - Vilareal claimed to have been the first to announce the insurrection which led to the Portuguese Restoration in 1640.<sup>14</sup>

In 1642, Enríquez Gómez had published in Bordeaux his collection of poems and plays, Las Academias morales de las Musas, in which a dominant theme is that of exile. By 2 March, 1644, according to a



document in the Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime,<sup>15</sup> he had moved to Rouen, where he published El siglo pitagórico (1644), a satirical work in prose and verse using as a structural device the Pythagorean notion of the transmigration of souls from body to body and containing the short picaresque novel Don Gregorio Guadaña. The theological poem on the theme of Adam and the Fall, La culpa del primer peregrino, dates from the same year. A year later (1645), his panegyric addressed to Louis XIV, Luis dado de Dios, was published in Paris. On the title-page of this work, the poet appears for the first time with the title of 'Cavallero de la orden de su Magestad Cristianissima de avito de S.Miguel'. Much has been written by earlier biographers of the poet concerning which order of this name is involved here, whether Portuguese (Barrera, op.cit.p.135) or French (Barbosa Machado<sup>16</sup>), most assuming that it was conferred for military service. However, the simplest and most probable explanation is that the reference is to the 'ordre de Saint-Michel', which was so liberally awarded in France that by the time of Louis XIV it was considered to be of second rank and was reserved largely for honouring servants, writers, artists, magistrates and the like.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, it was still a considerable honour, especially for a foreigner, as Enríquez Gómez was, which suggests that he had rendered some important service to the French Crown, no doubt in connection with his activity on behalf of the Portuguese monarchy. He may well have been able to furnish useful information about the affairs of the Peninsula through his business contacts and his earlier travels between the two countries.<sup>18</sup>

In 1646, Enríquez Gómez's publisher in Rouen, Laurent Maurry, produced an anthology of the poems of Sor Violante do Ceo, for which the poet provide a laudatory sonnet.<sup>19</sup> The Política angélica followed in 1647 with the attendant problem referred to below (see Chapter Two). The title-page of this critique of the Church's policy towards New Christians in Spain shows that he had by now added the honorary function of

'Consejero y Majordomo ordinario' to the King to his titles.<sup>20</sup> 1649 saw the publication of La Torre de Babilonia, in which, as in Siglo pitagórico, Enríquez Gómez attempts to match Quevedo as a satirist. (It also contains both parts of the play Fernán Méndez Finto) Sansón Nazareno was written in the same year but not published until 1656.

Antonio Enríquez Gómez's honours indicate that he occupied in Rouen a relatively elevated social position; likewise, as one might expect he moved in the highest literary and intellectual circles. He provided a sonnet for Pierre Guiffart's Discours du Vuide (1647)<sup>21</sup> and was present at the experiment of Pascal into gravity described there, together with various dignatories, doctors, advocates, conseillers au Parlement etc. Of these, a certain De la Coste may be the same as the A.G. de la Coste who wrote a sonnet for Siglo Pitagórico and Torre de Babilonia. This was a period when the arts were flourishing in Rouen, with the presence there of Pierre and Thomas Corneille and many intellectuals and litterati among the members of the chapter of the Cathedral and the legal and medical professions.<sup>22</sup> According to Charles de Beaurepaire (op.cit.) the Archbishop, François de Harlay, liked to surround himself with men of culture and since Harlay was the patron of Laurent Maurry,<sup>23</sup> one may easily suppose that Enríquez Gómez was also among that company.

As a businessman, too, he seems to have been high-ranking and successful. An arrêt of the Parlement of Rouen, dated 5 February, 1649, makes a reference to 'leurs traictes d'espaigne, flandres, hollande, Allemaigne, nantes, la Rochelle et au[tr]es lieux ou lesd[its] henriques ont [sic] acoustumé de négocier'<sup>24</sup> in connection with the commercial activities of Enríquez and his cousin, Francisco Luis Enríquez de Mora. Their names are among a handful of Spanish and Portuguese merchants who recur in notorial documents of the period.<sup>25</sup> One of these documents indicates that their main contacts in Paris were the brothers Jacques and Louis Guimarain, whom they authorise by a



procuration of 22 February, 1649, to make payments on their behalf; it also gives their address in Rouen as the Rue St. Vincent.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps a measure of the extent of the cousins' commerce can be gauged by the fact that they were apparently alone among 'Portuguese' merchants in Rouen in being forced by the disruptive events of the Fronde ('les désordres qui sont tant a Paris qu'a Rouen') to apply to the Parlement for a writ ordering a stay of execution for the payment of their outstanding debts.<sup>27</sup>

At some time after 1 July, 1649 and probably not later than the first month of 1650,<sup>28</sup> Antonio Enríquez Gómez left France and returned to Spain, to Seville, where he lived under the name of Fernando de Zárate. (see below, p.12) Of the next ten years of his life little is known, except that he wrote a loa entitled Los siete planetas,<sup>29</sup> for Calderón's auto, La cura y la enfermedad, which A. Valbuena Prat dates from 1657-58.<sup>30</sup> Since this is not the loa which Pando y Mier prints in his 1717 edition of Calderón works,<sup>31</sup> it is not the one which accompanied the first performance of the auto in Madrid, but its last lines suggest that it was written for a production in Seville, probably not long after the Madrid performance. The loa appears in the British Museum manuscript under the name of Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the style is recognisably his.

Shortly afterwards, in 1660 (3 April), he was apparently burned in effigy by the Inquisition of Seville and a year later, in September 1661, he was eventually arrested along with his half-brother, Esteban Enríquez. He was tried and repented of his errors, but while awaiting sentence to be passed he was struck down by 'un dolor de costado' on 18 March, 1663, and the next day died. He was buried at Santa Ana de Triana and two years later (14 June, 1665) was reconciled in effigy at an auto de fé celebrated at the church of San Pablo, Seville. In September, 1665 and again in 1668, his case was ordered by the Suprema to be re-examined following the trial of his cousins, Francisco Luis Enríquez de Mora and



Juan de León Cisneros in Lima, Peru (in 1663 and 1665) but the Inquisition of Seville was reluctant to proceed with it. And in 1667-68 a vain attempt was made to seize the wealth which on paper belonged to Enríquez Gómez.

ii) There are two aspects of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's life which require further examination: a) the burning in effigy of 1660 and b) the identification of the poet with Fernando de Zárata.

a) The auto of 1660:

According to the records of the Inquisition of Seville which have been the object of study by J.M.Montero de Espinosa in the last century<sup>32</sup> and more recently by J.G.García Valdecasas<sup>33</sup> an auto general took place in Seville on 3 April, 1660, at which among the 78 judaizantes one 'henrique enriquez de paz alias Antonio henrique[sic] gomez portugués V[ecin]o de Segovia por judaizante fugitivo salio al auto su estatua y fue Relaxada a la justicia y braço seglar, ya a confiscación de Vienes.' Montero de Espinosa in reporting this auto and the names of those involved, added an explanatory note of his own, referring to the works of Antonio Enríquez Gómez,<sup>34</sup> which not only reinforced the identification with the poet of the document, but set in train the account of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's origins which has been handed down by successive biographers prior to Révah - Adolfo de Castro, Amador de los Ríos, Barrera y Leirado,<sup>35</sup> - who all state that Enríquez Gómez was born in Segovia, of Portuguese parents, and that his real name or alias was Enrique Enríquez de Paz; to which is added, in view of his membership of the order of Saint Michael, the suggestion that he had a military career in the manner of other Renaissance soldier-poets. Nicolas Antonio and Barbosa Machado (followed by J.Lucio d'Azevedo)<sup>36</sup> suggest he was born in Portugal.

If one examines the document further,<sup>37</sup> with the benefit of Révah's evidence, the errors seem to be such that one may be justified in doubting whether it refers to our poet at all. Firstly, the order in which the names appear would seem to indicate that in fact the reference is to someone whose real name is Henrique Enríquez de Paz rather than Antonio (H)enríquez Gómez and the actual form of the latter name-- 'henrique' - might further cast doubt on the identification. Even ignoring this discrepancy, there is always the possibility that it is a question here of a homonym, a possibility acknowledged by J. Caro Baroja when he points to the occurrence of the poet's name in connection with a burning in effigy in an auto in Toledo on 1 January, 1651.<sup>38</sup> Secondly, his place of residence is given as Segovia rather than Seville (this is the sense of 'vecino de...'), which is attested by the evidence of Enríquez Gómez' half-brother, Esteban Enríquez (See Révah, REJ.121). On the other hand, the use of the word 'portugués' is of little consequence, as this was the common epithet applied to New Christians and was synonymous with judío in popular language: it tells nothing of the individual's origin.

Valdecasas adds other 'errors', namely, that there is no proof that Antonio Enríquez Gómez was a judaiser and that, if the document is reliable, he would have been in a position to witness his own burning in effigy, an unlikely situation in that author's opinion. For the first, there is ample evidence pointing to the poet's Jewish sympathies at least, as we shall see (Chapter Four). Regarding the second point, this is indeed an interesting anomaly and one which we must now consider. Valdecasas, however, in attempting to resolve it, returns an earlier 'myth'<sup>39</sup> which one would have thought Révah's evidence had discounted, by suggesting that Enríquez Gómez was in Amsterdam at the time. Révah reports Esteban Enríquez's testimony that he and his half-brother had been in Seville for more than eleven years:<sup>40</sup> of course, it is possible that Antonio went to Amsterdam during that period, but in view of the



circumstances of his departure from France (discussed below, Chapter Two), one would have expected him to go there immediately, if he were going there at all. His wife and son went to Antwerp<sup>41</sup> and possibly later to Amsterdam, thus it seems that in 1649 Enríquez Gómez and they decided to part company. Valdecasas supports his argument by reference to Miguel de Barrios' Relación de los poetas (1683) which contains a mention of Enríquez: since Barrios is concerned only with Spanish-Jewish literary personalities in Amsterdam, Valdecasas argues, therefore our poet must have been in Amsterdam. But a close look at the reference shows that Enríquez Gómez is listed in an addendum, amongst those poets who precisely were not in Amsterdam: Silveira who was in Naples and Jacob Uziel who had been in Venice.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, this amounts to support of the opposite view to that of Valdecasas, that Enríquez Gómez was not and had not been in Amsterdam.

Nonetheless, some explanation must be offered for the unusual situation in which Enríquez Gómez apparently found himself. According to H.C. Lea,<sup>43</sup> the Inquisition did occasionally have someone burned in effigy as a temporary measure in the hope that eventually they would apprehend the person himself. But, as a rule, they were content to wait patiently and pursue their quarry for years, if necessary, as the case of Diego Rodríguez Cardoso shows: he is first mentioned in inquisitorial documents in 1641 but was not tried until 1666.<sup>44</sup> What then are the most plausible alternatives to explain Enríquez Gómez's situation? The first, apparent from the discussion above, is that the document does not refer to Antonio Enríquez Gómez, the poet, at all. In view of the errors already indicated (discounting Valdecasas' additional ones), this seems a strong possibility. One may add further that there is no reference to the identification with Fernando de Zárate, while conversely the document quoted by Révah<sup>45</sup> gives the name Zárate but not that of Enrique Enríquez de Paz.

However, if we accept that the reference is to our poet and Révah does not appear to have doubted it, the alternative explanation would be that the Inquisition were still in April, 1660 pursuing Enríquez Gómez but saw no prospect of his imminent arrest. They were not even sure of his identity but had some evidence that he called himself Enrique Enríquez de Paz; they were not aware that he also called himself Fernando de Zárate, which meant that he was safe under that name for the time being. Even though the date of the burning and that of his arrest are close, there was in fact ample time for new evidence to come forward that would lead to his arrest (eighteen from April, 1660 to September, 1661) and establish that Enríquez Gómez and Zárate were one. Valdecasas has a suggestion which might be relevant here: that in their eagerness to obtain the honour of holding an auto general from the Madrid authorities, the Inquisition of Seville may have been encouraged to inflate the number of those to be condemned, in order to give a better impression of their zeal. Thus, they were a little less careful in allowing a burning in effigy (which might look like an admission of defeat) than they would otherwise have been.

Even so, in the absence of further evidence to connect the auto of 1660 with Antonio Enríquez Gómez, particularly evidence of his residence in Segovia and the use of the Enríquez de Paz alias, one must still have reservations about the Inquisition document and about this aspect of the poet's biography.

b) Antonio Enríquez Gómez and Fernando de Zárate:

In the last century, Barrera (op.cit.p.134ff) examined the suggestion that the two writers were one and the same person, arguing from literary and bibliographical data without the benefit of the kind of documentary evidence available to such as Révah. As Barrera saw it, the argument for the proposition was based on the following facts:



(1) the lack of biographical data concerning the playwright Fernando de Zárate, (2) a play, A lo que obligan los celos which Enríquez Gomez states to be his (in S.N. Prólogo) appears in Parte 25 of Comedias de varias [autores] (1666)<sup>46</sup> under the name of Fernando de Zárate, and (3) the Index novissimus of 1747<sup>47</sup> which refers to the Política angélica and Torre de Babilonia of Enríquez Gómez as banned, but also under Z to 'Don Fernando de Zárate (es Antonio Enríquez Gómez). Su comedia "El Capellán de la Virgen, San Ildefonso" se prohíbe.'

Barrera points out that i) biographical obscurity is by no means unusual and ii) when the publication of Zárate's plays begins, in 1660, that his works would have been published and, on the other, showing that the Inquisition did not think the two authors identical. On this second point, in view of what has already been said, Barrera is probably correct - if the effigy was that of Enríquez, then they had not yet made the connection between him and Zárate. On the other hand, the Inquisition did not engage in general bans on authors' works but proscribed them on an individual basis. Thus, while the Política angélica was banned (by 1657, according to Póvah), Academias morales and Siglo pitagórico continued to be published in Spain (editions in 1647, 1660, 1688, 1701, 1704, 1734 and 1682, 1683, 1862 respectively).<sup>48</sup> As for the third point (3), Barrera dismisses this on the grounds that the play El Capellán de la Virgen is in any case by Lope de Vega, making it a case of simple error. In the end, Barrera is led to the conclusion that the identification of the two authors derives solely from a mistake on the part of the compiler of Parte 25 of Comedias de varios [autores] in attributing Enríquez Gómez's play to Fernando de Zárate; a mistake, moreover, which the author himself seems to have been aware was liable to occur as is shown in his preface to Sansón Nazareno, where he explains his decision to list all the plays he has written, as follows: 'las mías [comedias] fueron veinte y dos, cuyos títulos pondré aquí para que se conozcan por mías, pues todas ellas o lo más que se imprimen en Sevilla



les dan los impresores el título que quieren y el dueño que se les antoja' (S.N.Pról.p.vii)

Two other principal arguments against the identification with Zárate are put forward by Barrera, firstly that two manuscripts of Zárate plays exist, one of which bears his signature and that Enríquez Gómez would not have deliberately signed with a false name. As it stands, this is not really convincing, since Révah's evidence suggests that we are dealing here with a change of identity, rather than simply a literary alias. Enríquez Gómez lived in fear of the Inquisition because he had had the audacity to send them a copy of his Política angélica, he was poor and insecure, waiting literally for his 'ship to come home' so that he could flee to Naples. He would hardly have balked at signing with a false name. However, there is some substance in Barrera's argument, in that it would seem that in literary matters the poet maintained the name of Enríquez Gómez: the loa Los siete planetas bears that name and Soriano-Carranza's note 'Es original que se sacó de su borrador' implies that everything, including the author's name is as he found it in the original (holograph?) manuscript.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, to produce and have staged the number of plays which are attributed to Zárate would have exposed even the greatest master of disguise to intolerable risk, since he would have had to sign contracts and other legal documents all with his assumed name. This does not fit with the image of the figure on the run, begging the occasional piece of literary work or perhaps once or twice passing off his own work as by the still exiled Antonio Enríquez Gómez, whose works we have seen were still being re-printed and enjoying popularity.

Barrera's other additional point is that, given the dates of printing of the last of Zárate's plays, Antonio Enríquez Gómez would have been far too old to have written them. (De Médico pintor, San Lucas appears in Parte 40, 1675) However, the dates at which these plays

appeared cannot be relied upon as a guide, being neither in the chronological order in which they were written nor necessarily close to their date of composition. For instance, the first of Zárate's plays appears in Parte 14 in 1660, some nine years before El Caballero de gracia, attributed in Parte 31, 1669, to Tirso de Molina but suggested by Barrera as Enríquez Gómez's, which must perforce predate his death in 1663 and undoubtedly goes back to beyond 1649. A far more telling argument is that of the comparison between the numbers of plays credited to each author within the time available. Leaving aside Barrera's dates (which are based on the date of printing), one is faced with figures of 29 plays<sup>50</sup> for the period from 1649 (the date Enríquez left France) to 1661 (the date of his imprisonment) as compared with 22 plays written between the early 1620's (when he was in Seville and Madrid) and 1642 (the date of Academias which contains four plays of the 22 listed in S.N. Prólogo),<sup>51</sup> that is to say 29 (Zárate) plays in 12 years as against 22 (A.E.G.) plays in 22 years. Given Enríquez's precarious position in Spain in the latter years, it would seem unlikely that he could exceed the rate of production of his earlier, youthful and relatively calmer years, even if one allowed for some of the works which appear under the name of Zárate to have been written in France. (But against that he may have started his career before the age of 20 and gone on writing some of the Sansón plays up to 1649.) Moreover, the rate of 22 plays in as many years corresponds exactly to the rate of production he jocularly gives himself when he refers to 'nueve volúmenes en prosa y verso, todos escritos desde el año de cuarenta al de cuarenta y nueve, a libro por año u a año por libro, acomódalos como quisieres.' (S.N. Prólogo, pp. vii-viii)

Barrera is right in his discussion of the plays themselves in finding a total dissimilarity between the work under Zárate's name and that under Enríquez Gómez's. Many of the former bear titles which suggest strongly Christian theme: El gran sepulcro de Cristo, Santa María



Magdalena, El vaso y la piedra (S. Pedro y S. Pablo), San Antonio Abad etc. While it is certainly true, as we shall see (Chap.4) , that there is nothing in his published works which conflicts overtly with Christian doctrine, what one does observe is a total lack of enthusiasm for that doctrine of the kind which can be discerned in, for example, La Escala de Gracia (Parte 35, 1670), which stresses the cult of the Virgin and contains extensive arguments in favour of the concept of the Trinity.<sup>52</sup> Even if one were to postulate a swing back to Catholicism in the last years of his life, the loa for Calderón's La cura y la enfermedad shows that even in a Christian liturgical situation he uses references to Jesus etc. sparingly, as if only where unavoidable, such as when the host and chalice are uplifted at the end (ll. 380-383). And, from what we know of Enríquez Gómez's Jewish sympathies and religious attitudes he would have had considerable repugnance at dealing with such a topic as the notorious anti-Jewish missionary Saint Vicente Ferrer, the subject of the Zárate play Las misas de San Vicente Ferrer (Parte 23, 1668).

What, then, of Révah's evidence, provided by the order of the Suprema (1665-8), which refers to 'Antonio Enríquez Gómez, alias Don Fernando de Zárate'? There is no gainsaying this evidence as such, but it does not prove that this Fernando de Zárate is the same as the author of the plays which go under that name; it is after all quite a common name ( Barrera refers to an Alonso de Zárate y La Hoz, whom some have confused with the other Zárate).<sup>53</sup> It simply indicates that as far as the Inquisition were concerned it was a name which Enríquez Gómez used as an alias and we have already suggested that he might not have used it at all as a nom-de-plume. The Index novissimus, which has been referred to above and which presumably derives its information from the source Révah quotes, mentions a play, but it is not one of Zárate's, which would have clinched the argument. Finally, Barrera suggests that the full name of Fernando de Zárate was Fernando de Zárate y Castronovo:<sup>54</sup> if so, then the distinction between the author and the pseudonym might well be indicated.

If to this one adds the evidence of the difference in literary styles and the statistics related to the plays, which we have put forward, then the identification of Antonio Enríquez Gómez with the playwright, Fernando de Zárate (rather than simply with that name), should be regarded, at least in the present state of knowledge, with some circumspection.<sup>55</sup> The existence of doubt in this area of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's biography is important, as we shall see, as we proceed to examine in detail the last years of the poet's life in France and the motives for his return to Spain.

Notes to Chapter One.

1. I.S. Révah, 'Un pamphlet contre l'Inquisition d'Antonio Enríquez Gómez: La Seconde Partie de la "Pólitica angélica" (Rouen, 1647), Revue des études juives, vol.121 (1962), 82-114.
2. C.A.de la ~~Barrera~~ y Leirado suggests this in his entry on Enríquez Gómez in Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español, Madrid, 1860,p.136.
3. 'mercader de lonja de cosas de françia que bive en la entrada de la calle de San Luis por la puerta del sol'; see J.Caro Baroja, 'El proceso de Bartolomé Febos o Febo', Homenaje a Don Ramón Carande, Madrid, 1963, vol.2, p.78.
4. See S.N.Prólogo, p.vii; C.H.Rose, 'Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the literature of exile', Romanische Forschungen, 85 (1973), 74, proposes the date of c.1640 for Fernán Méndez Pinto, but the tone of Enríquez's comment suggests he is looking back in the main beyond his exile in France. Note: all references to Sansón Nazareno as well as Romance al divín mártir relate to the editions presented in Part II of this Study (for S.N.Prólogo, see pp. 390-99.)
5. See his Apología in Enríquez Gómez's Academias morales, Rouen,1642, fol.6<sup>r</sup>.
6. All are mentioned by Enríquez Gómez in S.N.Prólogo, and, except for Silveira, contributed poems to Fama póstuma. For Silveira, Cardoso and the poet, see below,p.7.
7. cf. his comments explaining his exile in France, quoted below,p.8.
8. See below, Chapter Four, for full discussion of the poet's religious beliefs.
9. Caro Baroja, op.cit,p.92.
10. This is a slightly kinder explanation of his conduct than that implied by Caro Baroja (op.cit., p.78) in pointing out the contrast between his attacks on malsines and his own apparent act of malsinería.



11. T.Malvezin, Historie des Juifs à Bordeaux, Bordeaux, 1875, p.129.
12. Révah, op.cit., p.84.
13. Paris and Lisbon, 1641, also contained in João Franco Barreto, Relação da Embaixada a França em 1641, ed. C.Roma du Bocage and E.Prestage, Coimbra, 1918, pp.216-49.
14. I.S.Révah, 'Manuel Fernandes Vilareal, adversaire et victime de l'Inquisition portugaise', Ibérica, vol.1 (1959), 34.
15. A.D.S.M. Tabellionage (Notaire: Le Picard.) There are several references to Enríquez after this date but none before it.
16. D.Barbosa Machado, Biblioteca Lusitana, Lisbon, 1741, vol.1, p.297
17. C.Ducortial, Ordres et décorations, Paris, 1957, p.31
18. According to I.S.Révah, Le Cardinal Richelieu et la Restauration du Portugal, Lisbon, 1950, Richelieu made use of the contacts between New Christians in Spain and in France as a kind of spy system.
19. Rimas varias en portugais et en castillan de Soror Violante, Laurent Maurry, Rouen, 1646. The poetess also made a contribution to Fama póstuma and was no doubt an acquaintance of Enríquez.
20. The new title appears on both parts of Política angélica and La Torre de Babilonia.
21. P.Guiffart, Discours du Vuide, sur les expériences de Monsieur Pascal et le traicté de Mr. Pierius, Rouen, 1648. Enríquez's sonnet begins 'Si con el arte a sido la experiencia'
22. Charles Robillard de Beaurepaire, Blaise Pascal et sa famille à Rouen de 1640 à 1647, Rouen, 1902, pp.63-5.
23. G.Lepreux, Gallia typographica: III Normandie, Paris 1912, vol.1, p.317
24. A.D.S.M., Arrêts du Parlement, 1649.
25. A.D.S.M., Répertoire: Meubles et héritages, 1638-59 (Notaires: Le Picard, Crespin etc.). Another name is that of Antonio Rodrigues de Morais, friend of Vilareal; see trial evidence in Révah, R.E.J. 121 (1962), p.98.
26. A.D.S.M., (Notaire: Helye).

27. See arrêt of 5 February, 1649, mentioned above and note 24. The related arrêt of 15 April, 1649, gives a long list of creditors, suggesting extensive business and dependence of others upon them.
28. See Chapter Two, p.36. The last arrêt in the series referred to (notes 24, 27) is dated 1 July, 1649 and grants another period of indemnity of three months. The absence of a subsequent arrêt may indicate that he sorted out his commercial affairs within the time allowed.
29. British Museum, Additional MS.18786, Pedro Soriano-Carranza, 'Barias distintas y diversas obras Propias y ajenas En latino verso, y en Castellano... enpezólo el año de 1689.', ff.101<sup>V</sup>. Enríquez's loa is titled: 'Loa sacramental de los siete planetas De D.Antonio Enríquez Gomez. Es original, que se sacó de su borrador que por viejo rrompió ' The existence of this MS. is indicated by S.Wynters, 'A critical edition of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's A lo que obliga el honor', M.A.thesis, University of London, 1954.
30. Las obras completas de Pedro Calderón de la Barca, ed.A.Valbuena Prat, Madrid, 1952, vol.3p.749. A.A.Parker, 'The Chronology of Calderón's autos sacramentales from 1647' , Hispanic Review, vol.37(1969),186-7 is unable to date the auto but assigns it to the period 1652-57.
31. P.Pando y Mier Autos Sacramentales Alegóricos y Historiales, Madrid, 1717, part 6.
32. J.M.Montero de Espinosa, Relación de la judería de Sevilla, Seville, 1849, p.94.
33. J.G.García Valdecasas, Las 'Academias morales' de Antonio Enríquez Gómez, Seville, 1970, pp.25-36: this is the source of the following extract from the legajo concerned(no.2993).
34. Montero de Espinosa's reference reads: 'El capitán Enrique de Paz, alias Antonio Enríquez Gómez, vecino de Segovia. Las obras de este autor son bien conocidas con el título del Siglo Pitagórico, y vida de Don Gregorio Guadaña.' His information probably derives from the series of articles published by Justino Matatute y Gaviria in

Correo de Sevilla, 1803 etc.

35. Adolfo de Castro y Rossi, Historia de los judíos de España, Cádiz, 1847, p.188; J. Amador de los Ríos, Estudios históricos, políticos, y literarios sobre los judíos de España, Madrid, 1848, p.593; C.A. de la Barrera y Leirado, op.cit., p.134. K.R.Scholberg, Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971, vol.7, cols. 769-70, repeats this version, although alluding to Révah's more recent evidence.
36. Nicolas Antonio, Bibliotheca Hispana Nova, Madrid, 1788, vol.1, p.128; D. Barbosa Machado op.cit. vol.1. p.297; J. Lucio de Azevedo, Historia dos cristãos novos portugueses, Lisbon, 1921, p.380.
37. As Valdecasas does, but with differing conclusions.
38. J. Caro Baroja, Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea, Madrid, 1961-2, vol.1, p.477. Malvezin (op.cit., p.143) refers to one Antonio Enríquez as being 'relaxed' in the great auto in Madrid of 1680- obviously too late to refer to our poet.
39. On hearing the report of his burning in effigy, Enríquez supposedly retorted: 'Allá me les den todos'. See Adolfo de Castro, loc.cit.
40. Révah, R.E.J. vol.121(1962), 113.
41. See: I.S. Révah, Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado, Etudes juives, no.1., Ecole pratique des Hautes études, Paris, 1959, p.24. Diego Enríquez Basurto was in Antwerp in 1664.
42. Miguel de Barrios, Relación de los poetas, Amsterdam, 1683, p.57; See also M. Kayserling, 'Une histoire de la Littérature juive de Daniel Levi de Barrios', R.E.J. vol.18 (1889), 276-89. The passage reads: 'Entre otras celebres poesias el Doctor Miguel de Silveira hizo el Poema de los Machabeos, Jacob Uziel, el de David, y Antonio Enriquez Gomez, el de Sanson...' Note also Isaac da Costa, 'The Jews of Spain and Portugal' in Noble families among the Sephardic Jews, ed. B. Brewster, Oxford, 1936, pp.42-3, makes no reference to the poet's presence in Amsterdam, but refers to his death at the hands of the Inquisition in Spain.



43. H.C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition in Spain, New York, 1906, vol.3, p.89.
44. Caro Baroja, Los Judíos, vol.2, pp.132-45.
45. R.E.J. vol.121, 114: 'Antonio Henriquez Gomez, alias Don Fernando de Zárate, reconciliado en estatua en la Inquisición de Sevilla'.
46. Rather: Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España, Madrid, 1652 etc.
47. See Indice de los libros prohibidos, Madrid, 1844, p.160(AEG) & 362(Z)
48. See A. Palau y Dulcet, Manual del librero hispano-americano, Barcelona, 1948-64, p.62.
49. See note 31 (above). Note also that, contrary to Valdecasas' assertion (op.cit., p.33), no works appear under the name of Enríquez de Paz, suggesting that that too was disguise rather than 'nom-de-plume'.
50. Barrera has a total of 33 plays but this includes four plays which also appear in manuscript.
51. Fernán Méndez Pinto, the only play published later than 1642, (in Torre, 1649) has been dated as written c.1640; see note 4, above.
52. See discussion, below, chapter 4, p.
53. Barrera, op.cit., p.138. Note also the name of Francisco López de Zárate, author of La Invención de la Cruz (1648)
54. The name 'Castronovo' appears, according to Barrera (op.cit., p.507), in a suelta edition of Las Misas de S. Vicente Ferrer.
55. It is outside the scope of this literary thesis to explore this biographical problem further, though it is intended that it will be pursued at a later date.

Chapter Two: The Poet's last years in France.

In order to understand the background to the Romance al divín mártir and Sansón Nazareno, both of which were written in the period 1647 to 1649,<sup>1</sup> it is necessary to examine the state of mind of the poet at that time, as well as the particular events in which he was involved and which precipitated his return to Spain.

In 1647, Antonio Enríquez Gómez wrote an attack on the Spanish Inquisition's policy towards conversos or those Spaniards of Jewish descent, entitled La política angélica.<sup>2</sup> It caused a scandal and was finally proscribed, both in France and in the peninsular. The Marquis of Niza, Portuguese Ambassador Extraordinary in France and head of the diplomatic mission with which Vilareal and Enríquez Gómez were involved, obtained from the King's Council in Paris a letter, dated 8 April, 1647, and addressed to Monsieur Jean-Louis Faucon, Sieur de Ris and First President of the Parlement of Rouen, in which the latter was asked to have the printing of the work stopped, the type distributed and the manuscripts and copies already printed, together with other material by Enríquez Gómez handed over to the Marquis. However, none of these actions was taken, Niza apparently preferring to use his personal influence in the matter, perhaps with the letter to back up his arguments, rather than go through official channels. After some delay, the first part of Política angélica appeared: in his discussion of these events, Révah lists the locations of three copies of the work.

It was not this, then, that aroused the fear of Vilareal, which led him to alert the Marquis, nor the displeasure of the Marquis himself or the flurry in the Portuguese camp; rather it was the so-called 'Segunda Parte' of the work, which Révah has shown consisted of more forceful versions of the third and fourth Dialogues, which were to be substituted to make, if not a 'second part, a second edition of the work. It was



this plan which Niza's intervention forestalled.

The effect of this intervention was to bring about a deterioration in the relationship between Enríquez Gómez and the French Government. We have already suggested that he may have had connections with Richelieu, particularly in the way of providing information about events in Spain. He was clearly involved in the politics of Portugal and in Portuguese relations with France, and between the two this may have been the reason for his being honoured as a Knight of the Order of Saint Michael (an honour perhaps appropriate by its non-specific nature for a foreigner and writer). However, when Sansón Nazareno appeared in 1656, it did not bear the reference to these honours which had appeared on all his works from Luis (1645) onwards. Although it is known that he was no longer in France by that time, this is no reason for the absence of the honours from the title-page of the work- unless, of course, he had left disgraced and out of favour.

The action of Niza to block the publication of Política angélica, part 2, must have alerted the French Crown to the troublesome potential of Enríquez Gómez and rendered them suspicious towards him from then on. What he had written had obviously met with the disapproval of the Marquis of Niza and in acceding to his request they no doubt indicated their recognition of the harm it might do to Franco-Portuguese relations, if not suppressed. Since it also attacked Church policy, Mazarin, Richelieu's successor in government, as a cardinal of the Church might not have felt able to overlook it, however Christian its appearance and whatever the differences between Church practice in France and in Spain. Moreover, Enríquez Gómez was a skilled and sharp-witted writer who had already used his talents to political ends (in Triumpho lusitano): what might he not turn his pen to next, with what embarrassing or subversive results?



This last point is emphasised by the fact that, according to the letter which Niza obtained, the Crown was evidently upset by the illegal publication of Enríquez Gómez's pamphlet - as much, if not more so, than by its contents and possible repercussions. It reads: '... mais d'autant que cela est non seulement pernicieux, et de mauvais exemple, J'ay grand sujet de trouver à redire à cette impression puis qu'elle fust faicte sans ma permission.'<sup>3</sup> However, the implications of this last phrase, 'sans ma permission', are somewhat difficult to discern, for it is a curious fact - curious if one considers the controls over printing which existed at this period in Spain - that none of Enríquez Gómez's works published in France, with the exception of Luis, bears the usual extract of the privilège which one would expect to have been obtained from the Crown and printed in the finished work. Were they all illegally printed? What was the situation regarding control of printing in France at that time?

There have been studies of censorship and the control of printing and bookselling in the latter half of the 17th century and in the 18th, under the Ancien Régime, but little has been undertaken for the preceding period with the exception of H.J.Martin's study, which, however, deals only with the situation in Paris. Nonetheless, from the work of Quénart, Falk, Lepreux and Martin<sup>4</sup> together with direct study of documents of the period,<sup>5</sup> the following picture emerges:

In theory, all work published required permission of some kind, either a privilège général (effective throughout France) or a privilège local (confined to a specific locality) or a permission simple. This last category was issued by the local judicial authorities, usually the Parlement, and concerned the lowest type of work where only routine permission was required to be given, while the other two categories were classified as privilèges du Roi<sup>6</sup> requiring permission obtained from the Crown. Of these latter, only the privilège général appears to have

been printed in the published work, presumably because it conferred a national right which had to be seen and observed by all;<sup>7</sup> conversely, local privileges were restricted by their very nature to a specific locality and the Communauté or guild of printer would be informed of any privilege issued to one of its members.<sup>8</sup>

In order to obtain permission to print, a printer in Rouen would submit the manuscript of an original work to the Crown, together with, in the case of a work of religious nature, approbations from local churchmen. He then registered the receipt of the privilege with the local Bailly and could then proceed to print. When he had completed this, he would submit at least two copies to the King's Library<sup>9</sup> and others to the Communauté, who would sell them to supplement their funds.<sup>10</sup> Application would be made to the Parlement (or local judiciary), on the other hand, for permission to reprint classics and works for which the privilege had expired, as well as books printed previously abroad, almanachs, missals and the like. Works by local priests, such as anthologies of sermons, though original, seem to have fallen into this category too; possibly, they benefited from the blanket privilege given to the Archbishop, which allowed him to have printed what he wished without recourse to the King's permission where it might otherwise be required.<sup>11</sup>

As for the policing of these operations, four gardes were elected by the Communauté annually to oversee them from within the industry. However, they were largely ineffectual from a legal point of view, being less than impartial towards their own members, and seem principally to have been concerned to prevent unauthorised persons encroaching on their terrain, especially the selling of books by street-vendors.<sup>12</sup> Externally, the Bailly was concerned with minor offences of illegal printing or complaints of shoddy or incorrect printing.<sup>13</sup> The Parlement was concerned with a posteriori censure and could conduct public burning of a work on the steps of the Palais de Justice;<sup>14</sup> it also



dealt with appeals against the Bailly's sentence and with orders from the King's Council against a given work, for example, where a Parisian printer had complained against the granting of a permission simple by the Parlement de Rouen for a work for which he held a privilège du Roi.<sup>15</sup>

With this in mind, we can now consider the position of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's works. Since they are original works, albeit in a foreign language, and do not fall within any of the categories we have mentioned for works requiring only a permission simple, nor, could they be classed as 'religious' and so be protected by the Archbishop's sanction,<sup>16</sup> one must conclude that they, together with other works in languages other than French and Latin, were subject to one or other of the privilèges du Roi. A study of the works in Spanish (by Enríquez Gómez and others)<sup>17</sup> and many of those in English printed in Rouen, in the first half of the 17th century, is that none of them bears an extract from the King's privilege and most carry the words 'con privilegio', 'avec permission' or 'cum privilegio', on the title-page. This suggests that they were subject to a privilège local. The exception among Enríquez Gómez's works, Luis, dado de Dios, does bear the extrait du privilège and thus had a privilège général, but it was printed in Paris and the printers there often took advantage of their position close to the seat of government to obtain such a privilege in order to outdo their provincial rivals.<sup>18</sup> The principle still stands that as a rule foreign-language works were subject to privilège local du Roi.

It is, however, impossible to be categorical about this, in that the possibility exists that all these works might have been printed illegally. Rouen was a centre for such illegal printing: later (in the 18th century): it was a port with many contacts with England and Holland where French works were printed and shipped to France; and the monopoly of Parisian printers encouraged circumvention of the law. This may well have been so at an earlier date, added to which at this particular time

(1647), the Ancien Régime was in its infancy; Mazarin, unlike Richelieu, was not very strong in the matter of 'thought control'. Also, the absence of records relating to illegal printing, counterfeit works etc., suggests an absence of rigid controls or at least of effective policing. Nonetheless, it does seem unlikely that so many works as appear in this category of foreign-language works should not, at least in theory, come under the scrutiny of the law. Indeed, the fact of privileges of some kind being granted for Paris printed works, such as Luis, suggests a will to control on the part of the Crown. Moreover, at precisely this period (1643-7), the Crown was intensifying its efforts to obtain complete control over printing (in Paris), by seeking firstly to have existing statutes fully adhered to and secondly to extend the requirement to obtain privileges for 'old works', which had hitherto been exempt.<sup>19</sup> In the case of Spanish works in particular, given the large numbers of 'Portuguese' in Rouen, Bordeaux etc. one would imagine that they would have wished to exercise some control over their thoughts, during a time of Franco-Spanish conflict moreover. In the specific case of Enríquez Gómez's works, we know that Laurent Maurry did not have any brushes with the law except in 1632 and 1634.<sup>20</sup> Even counting with some minor incidents, recorded in the documents of the Bailly which no longer exist, he would seem to have kept within the law, while 6 works in Spanish and Portuguese published within a short space of time (1644-49)<sup>21</sup> would surely, if illegal, have come to the notice of the authorities. If nothing else, Maurry himself would have wished to protect himself against other local printers, such as Charles Osmont, who gained quite an income from servicing the 'Portuguese' community with editions of La Celestina and the like.

Some uncertainty remains, in view of the relative absence of documents relating to this period. On the available evidence, however, it would appear that control was theoretically instituted for the class of work into which Enríquez Gómez's works fall, but that, in practice,



it might not be rigidly adhered to or effectively conducted. France thus was a safer place than Spain to publish works of a controversial nature, such as Política angélica.

In the case of this work, we must take the phrase 'sans ma permission' literally, but it was not necessarily the crime it would appear. If Spanish works already slipped through the net, then this one was no different; if they did not, it is possible that the printer, as on other occasions, may have proceeded on the assumption that he would receive permission eventually.<sup>22</sup> In either case, once informed by Niza of what was going on, the Crown would have re-acted by laying down the law, as a warning to printers to keep on the right side of legality and, in this particular incident to Enríquez Gómez not to step out of line.<sup>23</sup> Maurry himself was spared on this occasion, because the matter was dealt with unofficially through the Marquis of Niza, but one may imagine that he did apply for permission to complete the first part of Política angélica. This was the purpose of the approbation written by Guillaume De Vair, 'indigne Religieux de S.François' and dated 8 August, some four months exactly after the date of the King's letter to Jean-Louis Faucon. Normally, this would have been submitted with the manuscript, before printing began; in this case, it was obtained when the work was completed and bound in at the last moment.<sup>24</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the fact that the approval does not come from the Vicaire-général of the Archbishopric but from a 'humble' friar, renders it bogus or suspect, since there are other examples where the referee lacks official status.<sup>25</sup>

As for Enríquez Gómez, the evidence is that he did accede to the request and possibly threats of the Marquis of Niza, since the witnesses at Vilareal's trial in 1649 in the main agree that Política angélica (i.e. the controversial parts) was not published as long as the Marquis remained in France,<sup>26</sup> even though he must have resisted strongly to

judge by the late date of the approbation which appears in the so-called 'Segunda Parte' as well as in the Primera Parte. This acquiescence, however, could not undo the fact that his conduct had, as has been suggested, aroused the suspicions of the French Authorities against him.

To return now to the relationship between the poet and the French, in this critical period of 1647-9, in addition to the points mentioned, there were other, wider reasons for the French to disapprove of Enríquez Gómez. In 1643, the Conference of Munster began and ended in 1648 in the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, which brought to a close the Thirty Years War in Northern Europe. From that point on, it was clear that the French and the Spanish would have to reach an accommodation - indeed the parties themselves recognised this and it was largely the Spanish insistence that the Great Condé (Louis II de Bourbon) be reconciled with the French Crown which held up the treaty till the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. Thus, from the diplomatic point of view, the French could not have officially approved of a pamphlet which might annoy the Spanish - written moreover by a renegade Spaniard who supported the Portuguese secession from Spain. Against the changing international background, one can see that the French might consider that Antonio Enríquez Gómez was more of a nuisance than a help. He was becoming expendable.

The poet, for his part, with his experience of political affairs and closeness to diplomatic circles, must have realized from quite an early moment what the outlook for him was and have begun to look for support where he could. At first he approached Louis d'Alongny, Marquis de Rochefort, to whom he dedicated La Torre de Babilonia (1649). Significantly, d'Alongny was also, as the title-page styles him, 'Comendador de las Órdenes de su Magestad Christianissima, Consejero en sus Reales Consejos...' and Enríquez makes reference to this rôle when he says: '... pues me honró V.E. con darme el áuito de S.Miguel,



de orden de su Magestad, llebe en quenta los rasgos deste su menor soldado, pues milita debajo de su bandera.' Further, the dedication contains several references to political intrigues in the Court, in the midst of which the Marquis stands out as a 'roca poderosa' (a pun on 'Roche-fort'). This looks very much like the plea of a man who is seeking help and attests to the insecurity of the poet's situation at the beginning of 1649.

Enríquez Gómez must have met with no success, since shortly afterwards he turned to and apparently found approval in another significant, if more controversial, quarter, the Great Condé. Condé, of course, was the hero of Recroi and victor over the Parliamentary side in the Vielle Fronde, but, if Enríquez's appeal to him followed that which he made to Alongny, that is to say, after 10 May, 1649, (the date of the dedication of Torre), it would have been to the disaffected prince who had, since the Peace of Ruel (11 March, 1649), begun to turn more and more against Cardinal Mazarin and the Crown, and not to the earlier defender of the realm.<sup>27</sup>

The evidence for the association between the poet and Condé can be deduced from Sansón Nazareno. Although no official dedication appears in the work, a preface supplied by the printer, Laurent Maurry, refers to its being dedicated to 'un príncipe tan grande en el nacimiento y en el valor, como en la desdicha que tiene de verse en disgracia de su rey.' Condé's military prowess was universally acknowledged and in 1656, the date on the title-page of Sansón Nazareno, he was leading the Spanish army in the Low Countries against his King and was still three years away from being reconciled with him. There can be little doubt that the reference is to Condé. Stanzas 3 and 4 of Canto I contain an internal dedication, addressed to '...tu, Príncipe excelso, cuya llama / La quinta esfera de valor enciende...' and the feats of strength and warfare make the story of Samson an obvious one to be dedicated

to such a hero as Condé. It may be that it was this association which occasioned the poet's eventual departure from France: between 13 December, 1649 and 19 January, 1650, when Condé himself was arrested, many who were considered to have acted against the state were imprisoned.<sup>28</sup> Is it not likely that it was at this point that Enríquez Gómez was asked to leave? Such a hypothesis is in accordance with the evidence of Esteban Enríquez in 1662 (9 February) that he and his half-brother, Antonio, had been in Seville for more than eleven years.<sup>29</sup>

It is worth noting at this point that the Great Condé was not the first person of contentious nature to whom Antonio Enríquez Gómez had directed his works, a fact which is of some significance if one bears in mind that such dedications were rewarded and implied a relationship of patronage or favour on the part of the person concerned. Triumpho lusitano (1641) was dedicated 'a los tres Estados del Reino de Portugal' i.e. to a country which had only just begun to liberate itself by force of arms from Spanish control. But, from the French point of view, this was in order, even though the Queen, Anne of Austria, was the daughter of Phillip III of Spain,<sup>30</sup> for the next work, Academias morales (1642), was dedicated to Queen Anne herself. On balance, at this point he was on the right side of favour and the dedication of Luis, dado de Dios (1645) lies in the same direction, not to mention the honours he could now put to his name. On the other hand, the ruling circle must have raised their eyebrows at two works published in 1644. La culpa del primer peregrino was dedicated to Marguerite de Lorraine, the second wife of Gaston, brother of Louis XIII, who had already been involved in rebellion against the Crown in 1630 and was later to play a rôle in the Fronde des Princes (1651). The other work, Siglo pitagórico was dedicated to François Bassompierre, one time ambassador to Spain, at a period when Enríquez may also have been in Madrid (1621-22), and suspected traitor (accused of collusion with Spain) who had only been released from prison in December, 1643, on the death of Richelieu.



Lastly, the dedication of Política angélica (1647) to the same Jean-Louis Faucon to whom the Marquis of Niza's letter from the Crown was addressed may be purely coincidental or may disguise some machination, if one considers Normandy's rôle in the Jeune Fronde (1649-53) as the seat of Longueville, the husband of Condé's sister. On the other hand, the dedication of La Délivrance et le rétablissement du Royaume de Portugal (L.Maurry, Rouen, 1648) by the Archbishop of Lisbon to Faucon may simply indicate that he was interested in the Portuguese question. Nonetheless, considering some of the other contentious dedications, it would appear that Enríquez Gómez may not ever have been easy to handle. The affair of the Política angélica and now the involvement with Condé proved too much: with the international atmosphere changing, the French authorities felt that there was no longer any need to put up with him.

The period of 1647 to 1649, and in particular the last year, was not, then, the happiest time of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's life in France. In 1647 pressure was put on him to suppress his best written attack on the Inquisition; by 1648, he could see his rôle as a political agent coming to an end; and in 1649, his friend, Vilareal, left with his superior, the Marquis of Niza, for home (they reached Lisbon on 30 April, 1649). What, he must have asked himself, was he going to do? With his crypto-Jewish background, he had two alternatives, either to go to some place of refuge, such as Amsterdam or Livorno, to become an outright Jew, or to return to Spain. The second was a hazardous choice, since he had supported the enemies of Spain during her quarrel with Portugal and had done more than most in the cause of the new kingdom, not to mention the fact of his religious beliefs and the dangers those would expose him to. Thus, he had far from trivial reasons for not going back to Spain.

The other choice, one which his uncle, Antonio Enríquez de Mora, and his son, Diego Enríquez Basurto,<sup>31</sup> took, involved more fundamental arguments, involved an examination of his innermost thoughts and emotions. He knew something of Judaism, but was that enough - enough to make him change the direction which his whole life had taken hitherto, the way of intrigue, subterfuge, commerce and political involvement?

On one level, it was a question of deciding between political and psychological realities: how far it was politic or prudent to return, though the desire and the nostalgia were strong (many of the poems in Academias morales show this); how far the freedom of conscience afforded in Amsterdam was outweighed by the uncertainty of the life to be lived there. On a deeper level, he had to decide whether or not his Judaism was greater than all the other considerations and whether he was prepared in belief and temperament to go the whole way in committing himself to feelings which tied him to his ancestral faith.

In this second argument, though it was not essentially one between Christianity and Judaism as such but between the Spanish and Jewish alternatives for the judaiser, the Christian world exerted its pull. It was the dominant culture, all-pervading, all-surrounding in the poet's outwardly Catholic upbringing, in the society at large, in its unspoken assumptions and overt language, in the thoughts and themes that ran through the poetry and dramas which he and his contemporaries wrote. All this was there and militated against the tug away to the ghettos, to a religion which, for all its attractions, was somewhat alien. This side of the argument did not have to be stated; it was constantly there in the culture and environment of the poet. On the other hand, the Jewish side needed to be explicitly stated, to be examined, tested and assessed so that it in turn might examine, test and assess the poet himself and what he felt. What better way, what more natural for a poet, than to do this by means of his art, his poetry? Hence the Romance



al divín mártir, Judá Creyente and Sansón Nazareno.

The first boldly denies the cardinal tenets of Christianity - the Trinity, the Virgin Birth, the messiahship of Jesus - and rejects them in favour of the One God, the God of the Old Testament and the Jews, then works up into a dramatic prophecy of the vengeance and reward of the oppressed people and the Coming of the Messiah. The second, more covert, more circumspect being a published work, recounts the victories of the hero, Samson, against the oppressing nation, his defence of the true religion against the false, and finally, despite his sins and his lapses, his triumphal death which liberates his people from the rule of Babel. (He, too, has earlier been vouchsafed a vision of the eventual Coming of the Messiah.) Both poems are united by the common theme of martyrdom, seen in the basic situation of the Romance and in the final catastrophe of Sansón Nazareno. In each case, the death of the hero is preceded by his affirmation of belief in the God of Israel and the offering of himself to God in sacrifice. The significance of this is that in both poems the poet is asserting his Judaism, while at the same time probing the extent of his belief; in other words, asking the question whether his belief is strong enough that he would die a martyr's death for it.

Both poems are to some extent messianic, the Romance in its prophetic second half and Sansón Nazareno in its affirmation of faith in the ultimate Coming as predicted in the Old Testament (see Canto VII). It is not surprising that Enríquez Gómez, in the period in question, should have turned in this direction. 1648 was the year, it was widely held among Jews, which the Zohar, the 'Book of Splendour', source book of both Jewish and Christian messianic speculation, had predicted for the Coming of the Messiah. Among the Jews of Amsterdam and Italy and the Marranos of France and Spain this was well known; Enríquez Gómez too would have known it. Among Christians, speculation regarding the

'Second Coming' of Jesus was rife, particularly among the Puritans in England, who saw the events of Cromwell's Revolution as having messianic significance.<sup>32</sup> In France, Nostradamus had made his prophecies in the previous century but they continued to have their influence at this time: in 1649 an edition of the Centuries appeared in Rouen (Jacques Cailloue and Jean Viret).

Finally, and most important of all, messianic speculation or speculation of a similarly salvationist type was integral to the struggle for Portuguese Independence, in which as we have seen Enríquez was prominent. 'Sebastianism'<sup>33</sup> proclaimed that the heir to the Portuguese throne, Don Sebastian, whose disappearance had led to the kingdom falling to Spanish rule, was still alive and would return. The proof was to be found in the Trovas of Gonçalo Annes Bandara, according to João de Castro who declared in his exegesis of them that the 'rey encoberto' mentioned there was Don Sebastian. Later, in 1625, the Jesuit Father Manuel da Veiga published his life of Simão Gomes, a second prophet who spoke of the lost king's return. In the years 1630-40, reports of marvellous events - the appearance of monsters, supernatural occurrences etc. - multiplied and when the revolt of Evora occurred in 1637, hope for the Restoration turned to certainty. The Revolution of 1640, thus, appeared as the natural and logical fulfilment of events long predicted, despite the fact that the Duke of Braganza, João IV to be, was not Don Sebastian.

At this point, the need was for propaganda and argument to convince the people that João was the prophesied king and to convince the world at large, Spain not least of all, that the Restoration was legitimate. The writings and sermons of Antonio Vieira<sup>34</sup> supplied the first and, for the second, foremost in the effort was the Marquis of Niza. In addition to his ambassadorial work, he financed the publication of the first printed edition of the Trovas, at Nantes in 1644 and wrote a riposte to



the Spanish claim to have won the battle of Montijo (1644). Both Vieira and Niza were known by Enríquez Gómez, Niza certainly and Vieira almost surely in person.

With these influences at work from both the Jewish and the Christian sides it is not difficult to understand how and why in the midst of his personal predicament, the poet became a messianist. In such a situation, with doubt and conflict prevailing, it offered a prospect of salvation which was both personal and extra-personal or universal. It satisfied the need to see the vortex of problems surrounding the individual solved in a structured and formal manner, while at the same time granting the individual his place within that formal framework. Further, the messianic belief is a basic tenet of Judaism, which divides it from Christianity, so that, when the issue is one of faith or intensity of belief, as in this case, this most central dogma must inevitably be discussed and one's attitudes resolved. For this reason, it is at the centre of the poet's expression of his creed, the Romance and finds a prominent place in Sansón Nazareno.

In the end, Antonio Enríquez Gómez returned to Spain. It is possible that he rejected Judaism or crypto-Judaism entirely and returned as a Catholic come back to the fold. One cannot be sure, however, that he was Fernando de Zárata, author of the plays that bear that name and evidently fervant Christian: indeed, as we have seen above (Chapter One) there is reason to doubt it. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that the expression of Jewish identification witnessed in the two poems under discussion could have been so easily or quickly rejected in its entirety - later perhaps, but not at this point.

If not a rejection of Judaism, why the rejection of what, for the sake of brevity, one may call the 'Amsterdam alternative'? One possibility is that he was still in a state of messianic euphoria. The suggestion

arises logically both from the strength of his feeling of Jewish commitment and from his particular preoccupation with martyrdom in the crucial years of crisis. It might therefore not be a lack of faith which led him to return but a super-abundance of it - faith that the process which would lead to the Coming of the Messiah was under way or at least that an imminent Samson-figure would destroy the Empire of Babel. In the Romance (1.465) he expresses the idea, believed in by many Marranos and Jews, that the Messiah would enable them to return to what they had come to regard as their homeland (rather than the Land of Israel).<sup>35</sup> Perhaps, conversely, he may have thought that his own return might hasten the Coming itself. Manasseh ben Israel only shortly afterwards was to argue in his Esperanza de Israel (Amsterdam, 1650) that the Coming would only occur when Jews were dispersed in all lands (hence his mission to Cromwell to obtain the re-admission of Jews to England) and this would presumably entail Marranos, perhaps openly declaring themselves, remaining in Spain. On the other hand, a less erudite tradition among Marranos pointed in exactly the opposite direction. In the report made by the inquisitor Juan Bautista de Villadiego<sup>36</sup> into the schism which rent the New Christian community in Rouen in 1630, he refers to the belief among 'Portuguese' judaisers that leaving Spain would hasten the Coming of the Messiah and returning retard it; by this token the return of Diego de Cisneros and his Catholic New Christian group demonstrated their sincerity of faith. Since Enríquez Gómez was an acquaintance of Jerónimo de Fonseca, a relative of members of that group, it is likely that he knew of the belief to which their action in returning ran counter. This in itself is sufficient to doubt that Enríquez Gómez's mood at the time of his return was one of messianic fervour. It is also strange that it should be some eleven years before he fell into the hands of the Inquisition (see Chapter One, p.9 above): if he were suffused with messianism one would expect him to have sought converts and to have attempted to set in train the kind of messianic movement which others such as Reubeni and Molcho had done in earlier periods. That would



have brought him to the attention of the Inquisition much sooner. Finally, the personality of the poet as revealed by his biography and writings - fondness for intrigue, spying and political dealings, scepticism regarding the affairs of men etc. - suggests that, while he went through a period of crisis and a messianic phase, such a mood would not last long and that his sense of realism would soon re-assert itself.

Even so, he might have seen himself returning to Spain, if not as a messianic luminary, as something equally dedicated, a Jewish martyr. Certainly, as we shall see in Chapter Six, he examines the theme of martyrdom in many of its aspects. In particular, he draws an implicit contrast in the two poems between the ideal of Lope de Vera, the courageous martyr, and the less perfect Samson, who has failed to follow the law of God and Israel faithfully, has married or consorted with women of other faiths and finally reaches the point where he requires God's forgiveness so that he may have the strength to sacrifice himself for God, the Law and Israel. Measuring himself against these two, the poet no doubt found that he had more in common with Samson than with Lope de Vera and perhaps sought to achieve the eternal reward Lope certainly, and Samson possibly, would gain through an act of self-sacrifice such as that of the hero of Sansón Nazareno. Although the exploration of the theme of martyrdom is intended primarily to be taken on a metaphorical plane, that is to say as symbolising the highest degree of commitment for a cause, it may also thus have been meant literally. In that case, however, one again wonders why eleven years elapsed before the poet's apprehension by the Inquisition: this suggests that he did not at once seek them out in order to put his decision into action and trust in God in the manner of Lope and Samson. On the other hand, he would not have been the first to have hesitated on the brink: Caro Baroja quotes the case of one Gonzalo Baez de Paiba who returned from France to Madrid to give himself up to the Inquisition (in his case,

repenting his judaizing) but failed to follow it through when he first dislocated his foot and then obtained a post as an administrator of millones.<sup>37</sup> In Enríquez Gómez's case his sense of realism would have soon diverted him from his course in a similar way. Perhaps the most that one can say concerning the idea that he returned as a martyr is that he may have for a moment persuaded himself that if he fell into the hands of the Inquisition, he could face the situation honourably and die a martyr's death, but he would not seek it out intentionally.

Setting aside both of these possibilities - messianic or martyred intent - some way must still be found to reconcile, on the one hand, the evident strength of his commitment to Judaism with, on the other, the apparent rejection of Judaism which the decision against the 'Amsterdam alternative' implies. Above all one which accords with the type of person he appears to have been. The truth may well be along the following lines. Antonio Enríquez Gómez underwent his period of crisis and self-examination and emerged from it having made up his mind. Despite the depth of his feeling for the Jewish faith as he knew it, and his commitment to the Jewish People he felt unable to decide in favour of becoming a Jew proper in one of the safe havens available. At the vital moment he realised that his faith was insufficient to counterbalance the pull of his native country, the pull of that which was familiar to him, despite, or indeed because of, his years of exile, and that familiarity extended to his years of crypto-Judaism, of maintaining the Christian façade behind which he masked his true feelings. It also extended to the way of subterfuge in political and other matters, of which a disguised identity might only be a development.<sup>38</sup> In addition he was a businessman and merchant and no doubt had matters which needed to be attended to in Spain. It was thus in favour of these considerations that he opted; at least it was honest and lacked not a little heroism in choosing to return to the certain dangers of the Inquisition.<sup>39</sup>



At the same time, what the writing of the two poems of martyrdom and messianism proved was that he could return to Spain with a reasonably clear conscience: the Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente and Sansón Nazareno both demonstrate that at heart he was a crypto-Jew, wedded to the cause of Israel. In this way, both poems enabled him to justify to himself a decision which in all probability he had deep down already taken. Though less dramatic than the other possibilities suggested, this has, one may suggest, the ring of truth - assuming that the Jewishness of the poet is accepted. With this point in mind, we must now examine in detail the Romance al divín mártir, for it provides valuable evidence of the poet's religious knowledge and beliefs.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. The date of composition of these works is discussed below, p.63 and Part II p.374 respectively.
2. For this section see: I.S.Révah, 'Un pamphlet contre l'Inquisition', R.E.J. vol. 121(1962), 82-114
3. Révah, op.cit., p.94.
4. J.Quéniart, L'imprimerie et la librairie à Rouen au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Rennes, 1969; H.Falk, Les Privilèges de Librairie sous l'Ancien Régime, Paris, 1906; G.Lepreux, Gallia typographica: III Normandie, Paris, 1912; H.J.Martin, Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1598-1701), Geneva, 1969 .
5. Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime, Arrêts du Parlement, années 1645-50.
6. Neither Falk (op.cit., p.71) nor Quéniart (op.cit., p.59) state this specifically, but it is implicit in their remarks.
7. This emerges from a study of some 20 or so works printed in Rouen and Paris in this period; where a privilège is found it always states a) that an extract must be printed in the work and b) that it confers rights throughout France. Conversely, the preface, for example, of Discours d'Aristarque à Nicandre, Rouen, 1628 by 'Aristarque', refers to the granting of a privilège (i.e. permission) by a local judicial figure, but it is not printed in the work.
8. Lepreux, op.cit., vol.2, 183-4 (document 642 /1644) refers to an edict for the registration of the intention to print a work for which a privilege had been obtained: this applied to all privileges but its relevance as a means of alerting all whom it concerned was obviously more important where local privileges were concerned.
9. Falk, op.cit., p.74-5, refers to one copy being deposited with the Chancelier de France and two in the Royal Library.
10. Quéniart, op.cit., p.38.
11. These were privilèges généraux in the first of Falks's definitions,



- i.e. they were not confined to a specific work. Except for the use of bishops and other clergy they were abolished by an arrêt of 1659 (see Falk, op.cit., p.71)
12. Quéniart, op.cit., p.176.
  13. See, for examples, Lepreux, doc.619 (1625) and docs. 620-25 (1625), regarding prosecution for defective binding and for illegal printing respectively (Lepreux, op.cit., vol.2, pp.158-60 & 160-9)
  14. Quéniart, op.cit., p.172.
  15. Lepreux, op.cit., vol.2, pp.184-6 (doc.643/1645)
  16. Politica angélica is a possible exception, but it can hardly have been with approval of the Archbishop.
  17. These include: Juan Pinto Delgado, Poema de la Reina Ester, David du Petit Val, Rouen, 1627, and Diego Enríquez Basurto, El Triunfo de la virtud y paciencia de Job, L.Maurry, Rouen, 1649.
  18. cf. Quéniart, op.cit., p.59, with reference to the situation following the Lettres-patentes of 1701.
  19. Martin, op.cit., vol.2, pp. 560-75
  20. See E.Gosselin, 'Glanes historiques normandes', Revue historique de la Normandie, vol.10 (1870), p.721 and Lepreux, op.cit., vol.1, p.317, respectively. In the first case, Maurry had begun printing on the assumption he would gain permission but before actually receiving it, and in the second, he was involved indirectly by printing a work which the Archbishop wanted but Parlement did not want printed.
  21. Figures derived from E.Frère's notes in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen(MS.m.213, liasse no.132)
  22. See, above, note 20, first case.
  23. The probability that this was the Crown's reaction is supported, not only by the evidence of their general efforts to control printing at that period (see above), but by the intensification of them in the first months of 1647, as shown by the Chancellor's verbal order of 14 February, 1647, that all works should have a privilege and

by Pierre Séguier's report to the Guild of printers in Paris that it was the King's will that this should include 'old books' , on 7 March, 1647 - only one month before the date of the letter given to Niza. Add to this the frustration caused by the opposition of the printers to such moves (see Martin, op.cit., vol.2, pp.573-4) and one may readily comprehend the Crown's reaction to Enríquez Gómez's unlicensed work.

24. The approbation is misplaced in P.A.I - it bears a signature ĩ but follows the title-page and precedes signature ã. Also, in its reverse (ĩ<sup>2</sup>) it carries the only catchword in the preliminaries ('Diálogo'), an unnecessary addition unless it was to be put in at a later stage.
25. See Lepreux, op.cit., vol.2, p.186(doc.646/1649): '... aussi approuvé par frères Jacques Pottier et Robert Vincent, religieux Augustins de cette Ville'
26. Révah, op.cit.,pp.95-8
27. See E.Godley, The Great Condé, London, 1915,pp.270-95
28. Louis XIV, Lettre du Roy sur la détention des Princes de Condé et de Conty, Paris, 1650 (20January),p.19.
29. Révah, op.cit.,p.163.
30. Anne in fact tried to persuade the Spanish king to recognize Portugal's independence; see: Conde de Ericeira, História de Portugal Restaurado, Lisbon, 1679-98, vol.2,p. 586
31. The first went to Livorno and the second to Antwerp and possibly to Amsterdam.
32. Manasseh ben Israel, Esperanza de Israel, Amsterdam,1650,p.188 ff. linked the Civil War in England with the Thirty Years' War and the Chmielnicki massacres of Jews in Poland as portents of the messianic Coming.
33. On 'Sebastianism', see: J.Lúcio de Azevedo, Evolução do Sebastianismo, Lisbon, 1918 and R.Cantel, Prophétisme et Messianisme dans l'oeuvre d'Antonio Vieira, Paris, 1960,pp. 22-40.



34. See: Cantel, op.cit., passim; also, Chapter Three, below.
35. cf. Ibn Daud, who in the twelfth century saw Spain as the seat of fulfilment of messianic prophecy; see A critical edition... of the 'Book of Tradition' [Sefer ha-Quabbala] by Abraham Ibn Daud, ed. G.D.Cohen, London, 1969.
36. British Museum Ms. Egerton 343, fols. 276<sup>r</sup> - 290<sup>v</sup> (printed), Informacion del licenciado Iuan Bautista de Villadiego, Secretado del S[an]to Of[icio] de la Inqu[isicion] de Sevilla P[or] los portugueses catolicos de la nac[i]on Hebrea, que han venido de Francia Contra los Iudayzantes de la misma nacion, [Seville] 1636, fol. 290<sup>r</sup>, para. 24.
37. J. Caro Baroja, Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea, Madrid, 1961-2, vol. 1, p. 470.
38. C. Rose, 'Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the literature of exile', Romanische Forschungen, vol. 85 (1973), p. 77, suggests '... as a playwright, the desire to participate directly in a creative milieu and the need to see his plays staged must have been overpowering.' This would be one more element of 'familiarity' which would have exerted its influence on the poet (even though his incognito existence might have made its realisation difficult).
39. His reported plan to go to Naples (Révah, p. 163) may indicate that later he came to regret his decision. From Naples he could go to Livorno or Amsterdam; the more direct route to the latter - through France - was, of course, no longer open to him.

### Chapter Three: The 'Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente.'

The Romance al divín mártir was not published by Antonio Enríquez Gómez in his lifetime and has remained in manuscript, except for a transcript given by S. Wynter in her M.A. thesis (University of London, 1954). I. S. Révah, in his article 'Les Marranes' (1960)<sup>1</sup> refers to the poem as Enríquez's only sincere work and C. Roth mentions it in a footnote in an article to be discussed below (p.50). Otherwise it has not attracted the attention of commentators. Neither Adolfo de Castro nor Amador de los Ríos<sup>2</sup> appears to know of its existence and La Barrera<sup>3</sup> does not refer to it. More recently A. Valbuena Prat<sup>4</sup> asserted that he knew of no work of Enríquez Gómez's which would contradict his belief that he was anything other than an orthodox Christian in religious matters. Valdecasas<sup>5</sup> follows Valbuena in this opinion. Obviously neither was aware of the existence of this poem.

Before going on to discuss the content and significance of the Romance, it will be necessary, in view of the radical importance of the poem and scant critical attention it has received, to establish a) the origin and date of the principal manuscript and its relationship with other extant manuscripts and b) the authorship of the poem.

#### i) The manuscripts

The principal manuscript appears in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, together with letters and treatises in the same hand.<sup>6</sup> The Neubauer Catalogue lists the items as follows:

1. A discourse on Messianic subjects...Headed 'Tripoly de berberia anho 5429 [1669], Parasa y fue como se envejeçio Ishak y escureçieronse sus ojos de ver'
2. fol.12. 'Coppia de otra carta de dito H.H.escrita a seo cunhado, Abraham Baruh enriquez, tripoly o 29 outubro 1668' a discourse on the same subject.



3. fol.23b. 'Tratasse sobre o capitulo 53 do propheta Jesaya....'
4. fol.44. 'Copia da carta que escreveo Ishack Meatob de Misraim... a seu Yrmaõ Daudid Meatob', letter on family affairs.
5. fol.46b. A poem in Spanish, headed, 'Romance al diuin Martir Juda Creyente martirizado em valledolosid p̃ la Inquisision' beg. 'Entre los fieros dragones de aque tribunal soberbio'.
6. Short letters addressed to (a) fol.50b. to Sr. Mordehay Jeserun, Amst. 29 Jan., 1717 (b) fol.51. to Sr. Ib. Coen da Zenedo, Amst. 30 Sept., 1716 (c) ibid. to Sr. Eliau Benveniste. Amst. 26 Jan., 1717 (d) fol.51b. to end, 5 pieces addressed to Jacob Coen de Zenedo, 1716.

In the catalogue drawn up by M. Roest for the sale of the library of Isaac da Costa in 1861,<sup>7</sup> Item 2599 is given as:

Traitéx exégét., lettres, datés de Tripoli, Mitsraim, etc. pendant les années 1668-1717, dont quelques-uns adressés a Abraham Baruch Enríquez, David Meatob (de son frère Isaac), Eliau Benveniste, Mordech. Jesurum, Jac. et Daniel Cohen Dazevedo<sup>8</sup> ainsi qu'une 'Romance al diuin martir Juda Creyente, martirizado em Valledolid p. la inquisicion' (550 lignes) 108 pp. velin. 4<sup>o</sup>.

Comparing these two catalogue entries, particularly the names of the correspondants of the letters, the places from which they wrote and the dates given and the conjunction with the romance of the same title, there seems little doubt that they refer to the same manuscript,<sup>9</sup> which thus originated in the collection of Isaac da Costa and was bought directly or indirectly by the Bodley Library.

We can go further back: Isaac da Costa was the eighteenth century Dutch poet and Calvinist convert who was descended from Joseph the third brother of Uriel da Costa, the Jewish heretic of the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Though a convert away from Judaism, Isaac da Costa was still interested in his ancestry and built up a large library of Jewish works - Bibles, liturgy, rabbinical writings - which he inherited from his father and in all probability ultimately from his forebear, Joseph da Costa. Among these it is possible that the manuscript of the Romance was to be found. Joseph da Costa was for several years a member of the Parnasim of the Talmud Torah synagogue in Amsterdam and in 1650 was its president. It was in this same year that Mannaseh ben Israel dedicated his Esperanza

de Israel 'a los Señores Parnassim del K.K.Talmud Torah'<sup>11</sup> If, as we may surmise, it was Diego Enríquez Basurto who brought the Romance in manuscript to Amsterdam when he and his mother parted company with Antonio Enríquez Gómez in 1649-50, then Joseph da Costa would have been well-placed to obtain a copy, being not only in that city but a prominent member of the community there.

X The striking thing about the Bodleian document as a whole is that, apart from the short letters at the end, which may be in a different hand but in any case are of much later date than the rest, every item is concerned with the theme of the Messiah and, in particular, with the claims of Sabbetai Zevi, the false Jewish Messiah<sup>12</sup> (Items 1,2,4) Y.Yerushalmi<sup>13</sup> has analysed the first two items and shown that they originated from Abraham Cardoso, brother of Fernando (Isaac) Cardoso, the Jewish apologist and one-time acquaintance of Enríquez Gómez (see Chapter One, p. 4). In the first letter, Abraham replies bitterly to the taunts of his brother, a confirmed anti-Sabbatian, regarding the apostasy of Sabbetai Zevi (in 1667) whom Abraham had continued to support and argue in his favour. In the second letter, he explains to his brother-in-law, Abraham Baruch Enríquez, his quarrel with his brother and goes over some of his arguments. According to Yerushalmi, he was in the habit of sending his brother-in-law copies of his more important letters and, though Yerushalmi himself does not suggest it, it is possible that it was through Abraham Baruch Enríquez that Cardoso's letters circulated and came to be copied by the Bodleian scribe.

The third item is a Portuguese translation of Elie Montalto's treatise concerning Isaiah chapter 53, a text which is referred to by Abraham Cardoso in the first letter and which concerns the argument as to whether the Messiah was to be abased or not - the passage was interpreted by Christians as foretelling the suffering and death of Jesus,



an interpretation accepted by the Sabbatians as applying to their claimant, but rejected by orthodox Jews, including the author of this treatise. Again its relation with the Messianic theme is clear. Item four is a copy of another letter, written in 1666, which, though largely concerned with family matters, also deals with the claims of Sabbetai Zevi, referring as it does to his departure from Egypt for Smyrna the previous year.

Whoever was responsible for the Bodley document, therefore, had a great interest in the messianic claims of Sabbetai Zevi and was clearly a Sabbatian. Item five, the Romance, has thus found its place among the others on account of its messianic prophecy, which may have been thought to contain some reference to Zevi.<sup>14</sup> If this is so then it was collected along with other pre-existing material and is not the original manuscript.<sup>15</sup> As for the date of this copy, on the basis of the surrounding messianic items, it may be put at between 1666 and 1668.<sup>16</sup>

The second manuscript is to be found in the library of the Portugees Israelitisch Seminarium 'Etz Haim', Amsterdam, together with 26 works by Saul Levy Mortera, Ishac Orobio de Castro and others: the first page refers to the work of Haham Ishac Nahar as being copied in 1719 by David Carvalho, a well-known calligrapher of the period and it would seem that he was responsible for the other copies also.<sup>17</sup> This copy of the poem bears a different title from that of the Bodleian, being more explanatory in nature, but as regards the text, it is substantially the same. However it is six lines shorter in length (544 cf. 550 lines), owing to the omission of lines 8-9 and contraction and omission leading to the loss of four lines between lines 417 and 425. Carvalho divides the poem into four-line stanzas, which probably accounts for the omission of the lines mentioned, and there are other signs of editing, much of which is sensible, and has been used in the edition of the poem below (see Part II), but

but some of which betrays an ignorance of Spanish prosody, such as the turning of lines 21-2 into decasyllabics. Nothing else appears to be known of the origin of this manuscript, but it may be surmised that it is a copy of a manuscript which, if not the Bodleian copy itself, must have looked very similar, and which must have dated from about the same period, since Mortera and Orobio de Castro (see above) died in 1660 and 1687 respectively. It does not tell us anything more about either the Bodleian or the original manuscripts but it is of great editorial value in establishing the author's text.

A third and partial manuscript copy at one time existed in the library of the Talmud Torah at Livorno.<sup>18</sup> This was the text of which Cecil Roth published a transcript in Revue des études juives, (1934),<sup>19</sup> though he was under the misapprehension that this was the confession written down by Lope de Vera himself, as is suggested by the introductory material: 'Versos que composo Lope de Vega[sic] estando En la Enquesision En España mandado al Enquisitor Maior e lo quesuaron [sic] per Santificar il nombre de Dio En el publico'.<sup>20</sup> In fact, it corresponds to the first speech of the Oxford copy but with its own two stanzas of introduction and four of conclusion, which certainly suggest a confession of the hero.<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately, the original appears to have been destroyed during the Second World War,<sup>22</sup> so that only Roth's version remains with all its linguistic oddities. For example, there are many Italianisms, such as 'per' (passim), 'argumenti'(1.90) and 'consigliar' (1.163) and several instances of forms which make no sense but which can be seen to correspond to passages in the other copies: 'diagassaios' (1.77 i.e. 'diga Issaias' cf. Bod. 1.131: 'dize yesayas'), 'durla y redurla' (1.158 cf. Bod. 1.192: 'dulfa y perdulfa') and 'mero y mito' (1.182 cf. Bod. 1.221: 'meromisto'). In view of the contradiction between C. Bernheimer's description of the handwriting as 'très-belle écriture' and Roth's as 'parfois presque illisible' it is difficult to know who is responsible



for these forms, but, assuming that Roth's transcriber is not to blame,<sup>23</sup> the manuscript would appear to be by an Italian whose knowledge of Spanish was weak, though his interest strong (perhaps a Jew of Marrano origin brought up in Italy without direct knowledge of Spanish except through the liturgy). As Bernheimer estimated its date as '17ème siècle', one is tempted to suggest that it may be contemporaneous with the Bodleian copy, rather than with the later Amsterdam one. However, as this is not a complete copy of the poem and in view of the copyist's comparative ignorance of Spanish, it looks as though someone else has intervened in the process of transmission, probably in Holland where a Spanish speaker has extracted the Jewish-Christian polemic which was very much a subject of interest in Amsterdam at that period, while casting aside the prophetic second speech and adding his own introduction and conclusion. This rejection of this messianic section would fit in with the reaction in Jewish circles against messianism and mysticism following the Sabbatian débâcle (post -1667-8). Thus, the manuscript would be of a date within about twenty years of the Bodley copy, while memory of Lope de Vera was still alive, but beyond the point at which the hope centred on Sabbetai Zevi had faded.<sup>24</sup>

To sum up, we have three texts of the Romance: one complete and largely unadulterated, orthographic idiosyncracies apart, dated within twenty-five years of its probably date of composition; one of later date, edited as regards both text and orthography; and one partial text, dated in all probability mid-way between the two. From these it is possible to establish with a reasonable degree of accuracy the poem as originally composed. This is the text which appears below (Part II) and from which all subsequent references and quotations are taken. The question now is: who was the author?

## ii) The authorship of poem

In his preface to Sansón Nazareno Antonio Enríquez Gómez makes no mention of the Romance; however, this is not surprising in view of the overt Jewish nature of the poem. Moreover, it was not published and could not, in any case, feature in a list of published works. He does, however, refer to a projected poem, entitled Triunfos inmortales, although this is described as 'en rima'. It is possible that this is the Romance, but with a change of metre, from projected rimas to romance form.

In addition to this admitted speculation, there is some circumstantial evidence to be found in the writings of Miguel (Daniel Levi) de Barrios, the 'poet laureate' of the Amsterdam Sephardi community. The first reference is in his Relación de los poetas: 'Entre otras celebres poesias el Doctor Miguel de Silveira hizo el poema de los Machabeos, Jacob Uziel, el de David, y Antonio Enríquez Gómez el de Sanson, y el Romance que decanta el martirio de Don Lope de Vera'.<sup>25</sup> The second is in his Memorial de los martires, where, after recounting the story of Lope de Vera, he says: 'Su [Lope's] maravillosa firmeza celebran los versos de Antonio Henriquez Gomes, de Manuel de Pina, y aun la carta que escribió entonces el Inquisidor Moscoso a la Condesa de Monterrey'.<sup>26</sup> The poem of Manuel de Pina exists and it is not this Romance,<sup>27</sup> nor does the Moscoso letter fit the bill. Therefore, the probability is that the poem we have is that which was written by Antonio Enríquez Gómez. If there were another poem on the subject, one would have expected Barrios, who is notably eclectic, to have mentioned it; he does not, so that this is not another poem hitherto unknown.

A study of the content and style of the poem itself tends to confirm the authorship suggested. Firstly, the conception of the Romance al



divín mártir has many parallels with Sansón Nazareno: the situation of the hero about to die for the sake of his people and religion; the confession of faith before the moment of death, in both cases couched in similar language, based on the Amidah prayer in the Jewish liturgy;<sup>28</sup> and the messianic element (Second Speech, l.381 ff.cf.S.N.VII).

Secondly, the extended use of biblical sources, in addition to numerous passing references, can be observed in the Romance as in poems published under Enríquez's name, particularly, the use at length of the Book of Daniel as the basis of the Messianic prophecy (a reference in S.N.VII, 79 shows that the poet recognises this as a messianic source) and the literary paraphrase of part of Song of Songs which appears similarly in the Romance(l.535-60) and in La culpa del primer peregrino(pp.13-4).

To expand on this second example, although in the Culpa del primer peregrino the poet is mainly concerned with the source on a linguistic and imagistic level for the purpose of describing a woman (Eve), while in the Romance it is part of a more involved poetic effort of personification of the Law, nonetheless the same direct borrowing of phrases with minimal alteration can be seen in each case: 'el oro de sus cabellos' (Rom.l.354) cf. 'Tus dorados cabellos' (Culpa, p.13, l.25), 'de dos blancos mellizos/tiene sus hermosos pechos' (Rom.ll.359-60) cf. 'Tus pechos dos melliços' (Culpa, p.13, l.14 b.), 'Sus ojos son de paloma,/azules pero no negros' (Rom.ll.357-8) cf. 'Tus ojos de Paloma' (Culpa, p.13l.21). moreover, the image of woman presented is the same in each passage - blond and blue-eyed - which is of significance in view of the fact that the woman of Song of Songs is dark. Thus, not only is the same source (and same poetic approach) discernible but the change of direction in its use is the same.

Thirdly, there are themes or motifs which are present in the Romance and which are common in Enríquez Gómez's poetic and other works:-

a) The image of Babel is constantly seen, both on the level of the symbol of the folly, vanity and corruption of the world, particularly in the satirical works (La Torre de Babilonia, La culpa del primer peregrino and Siglo Pitagórico) and on the more specific level of denoting the tyrannical and oppressive power: in the Romance, this works hand in hand with the analogy of Lope de Vera with the Maccabees, Antiochus being in turn identified with Nimrod the Babylonian and his kingdom with Babel, whereas in Sansón Nazareno it is the Philistines who are described as 'Babeles' or 'babilónicos' (e.g. S.N. VI.27).<sup>29</sup>

b) Lope de Vera describes himself as 'peregrino en Israel' (Rom. I.270), by which he seeks to identify himself with the wandering nation of Israel. With a similar intention,<sup>31</sup> Antonio Enríquez Gómez frequently pictures himself as 'peregrino' or 'pasajero', particularly in the poems in the mouth of Albano in Academias morales. In La culpa the 'peregrino' is generalized to denote 'fallen Man', but there is an element of self-identification in the tension expressed between religious doubt and conventional established bromides.

c) 'Vanity of vanities' recurs as the leitmotif of many of Enríquez Gómez's poems, for example, in 'El Pasajero' (Ac.mor., p.26). In the Romance, there is an echo of this in line 22, 'la vanidad del viento' and line 207, 'las demás son vanidades'.<sup>30</sup>

d) The theme of life and death - that death means life for the believer - while a common one in Golden Age literature, occurs in the Romance in terms which echo other works by the poet: 'he de morir por vivir' (Rom. I.275), and 'alabando la Causa / por quien vivo y por quien muero' (Rom. II.281-2) cf. 'Rendirse al fuego, por quien muero y vivo' (S.N. II.23) and 'Es Dalestina, por quien vivo y muero' (S.N. III.48,49)

e) The idea of light as intellectual illumination as well as a physical image is a favorite image, seen, for example, in the description of God as 'luz intelectual' (Rom. I.99) cf. Samson following Dalestina 'El norte sigue de su luz, si en ella / Formarse puede la volante suma'



(S.N.II.2.). Again, this is a commonplace idea but the repetition of it is perhaps individual.

f) The use of notions from Mediaeval cosmology and philosophy as poetic ideas is not original either but occurs frequently in Enríquez Gómez's works, for example, the contrast of 'el mundo mayor' and 'este mundo menor' (Rom.1.119 & 127) and cause and effect (Rom.11.87-8):  
 'Lo infinito de la cause / no comunica al efecto (i.e. man)' cf.  
 'Asi se llega este pequeño mundo, / A la eminencia del Sagrado monte' (Culpa, p.66, 11.2-3).

These last three examples(d,e,f) are perhaps of little significance individually, but together they conform with the general pattern of Enríquez Gómez's works in that they correspond to the most commonly used 'clichés', as well as appearing in somewhat similar form. To the above, one may add the following concepts which appear both in the Romance and elsewhere: g) martyrdom, that is, sacrificing oneself to God for one's beliefs as 'sacrificio perfecto' (Rom.1.336) cf. 'perfeto sacrificio' (S.N.VII.79)<sup>31</sup> and h) the north regarded as the direction from which affliction comes, as in Romance, line 393 and Sansón VI.10 (Dagón is 'hidra del norte').

In terms of vocabulary and phraseology, there are many cases of exact or near exact parallel between the Romance al divín mártir and other works known to be by Antonio Enríquez Gómez. The examples are:-

Romance, line 10. 'tercio viejo/de Sinai' (i.e. Jews) cf. 'Soldados del tercio viejo' (Pol.Ang.II, ed.Révah, p.135)

1.31. 'vulgo atrevido' cf. 'el vulgo novelero' (S.N.XIV.53)

1.32. 'horrible y fiero' cf. idem (S.N.XIV.53)

1.34. 'los preceptos de Venus' cf. 'la palabra de la Ley divina/ No precepto de Venus...' (Culpa, p.121.11.1-2)

1.90. God as 'el primer entendimiento' cf. 'poderoso entendimiento' (Culpa, 72.9)

- 1.220. 'el meromixto imperio' cf. idem (Culpa, 88.20)
- 1.302. 'tribunal de los infiernos' cf. 'los tribunales imperfectos' (Culpa, 40.23)
- 1.335. 'sacrificio perfecto' cf. 'perfecto sacrificio' (Luis, p.26; S.N. VII.79)
- 1.337. 'muero por tu Ley' cf. 'Yo muero por la Ley que tú escribiste' (S.N. XIV.61)
- 1.364. 'hemisferio' (Amst. MS. only), popular word for 'world' (e.g. S.N. VII.30.viii)
- 1.366. 'el ave simple que sabe / morir y vivir a un tiempo' cf. 'aquel ave / que morir y vivir a un tiempo sabe' (S.N. II.28)
- 1.391. 'páramos' cf. idem (Ac.mor. p.139 'Creación de mundo' 15.vii), but particularly, 'páramos del viento' (Rom. 1.524) cf. 'el páramos del viento' (S.N. IX.45)
- 1.443. 'la basta idolatría' cf. idem (S.N. I.20)
- 1.472 'los diez y medio (tribus)' cf. 'Nueve tribus y medio' (S.N. V.II.58) (The usual reference is to ten tribes.)
- 1.474. 'naturales y extranjeros' cf. idem (Luis, p.71)
- 1.535. 'Por la parte del oriente, / amanecerá un Lucero, / nueva Estrella de Jacob' cf. (also names for Messiah) 'Esta estrella que baja del oriente' and 'Lucero de Jacob' (S.N. VII.75.v and 80.ii)

One may add further the linguistic parallels already noted in the use of Song of Songs as a source and in the formulation of the life/death image in (d) above.

Finally, in the area of general style, there are many instances where one feels the recognition of a familiar poetic voice. This is most



easily illustrated by the satirical tone which finds its way, in the first speech of the Romance, into what is ostensibly a straightforward declaration of faith on the part of the hero-victim. For example, there is the passage, lines 155 to 162, in particular its final quip: 'y lo propio es para mí / dividirla [=la Causa i.e. God] en tres que en ciento' and the dismissive remark (ll.207-10): 'Las demás [fes] son vanidades/ de los sabios destos tiempos, / y es locura a lo divino, / intervalos del ingenio.' This would appear to be the kind of witty and incisive style that one associates with Antonio Enríquez Gómez.

Having said that, however, it is necessary to consider the proposition that Miguel de Barrios himself may have been the author of the poem. This is suggested, not only by the fact that he was an accomplished poet who lived in Amsterdam where the principal manuscript originates, but by the close similarity with the Romance of two passages in Contra la verdad no hay fuerza, an auto written by Barrios between 1665 and 1672.<sup>32</sup> The passages concerned are lines 2570-615 and lines 2654-93, speeches by the characters Albedrío and Celo respectively in a sequence re-enacting a trial by the Inquisition. In the first we find:

Hebreo soy, enemigos,  
mi esposa es la Ley sagrada,  
mi Dios, sólo El de Israel,  
mi honor, morir por su causa.  
Prendedme, echadme al encendio,  
que porque sea su flama  
mi carro triunfal, ya es  
de Elías mi vigilancia. (ll.2578-85)

This recalls Lope de Vera's defiant words of affirmation: 'Judío soy, castellanos! / la Ley de Mosseh confieso...'; 'esposa' evokes the Law-lover image developed in the Romance, lines 344-72; and the allusion to Elijah is found there almost in the same words:

Esa llama abrasadora  
 que ha de devorar mi cuerpo  
 será mi carro triunfal  
 pues es de Elías mi celo  
 (Rom.11.283-6)

At the end of the passage we encounter the image of the fire purifying out the soul of the hero, which we may set alongside the expression of the same image in the Romance:

Todo merece la muerte,  
 todo el incendio me llama  
 porque indulto de las culpas,  
 porque crisol de las ansias,  
 desvaneciéndome el cuerpo,  
 purificándome el alma,  
 halle en la pena más fiera  
 la gloria más soberana.  
 (Contra,11.2610-17)

Desta materia caduca  
 en el mundo venidero  
 veré al Señor, pues el polvo  
 serafín es con aliento,  
 Vivo entre el fuego voraz  
 el espíritu que tengo  
 en el crisol de la carne  
 purificará su celo.  
 (Rom.11373-9)

In the second passage, many of Lope de Vera's arguments in favour of Jewish belief are echoed:

Verdugos de la inocencia,  
 que con hidrópica instancia  
 ahogáis su vida y su honra,  
 bebéis su hacienda y su fama...  
 esos tres [martyrs] que por mi amor  
 a dos fuegos se abalanzan...  
 son los escudos con que  
 vengo a defender la sacra  
 Ley, que los hace coronas  
 del soberano Monarca.  
 Si la peregrina Ley  
 es la divina palabra,  
 y en Dios no hay imperfección,  
 ¿cómo tiene de quebrarla?  
 El cielo, la tierra y cuanto  
 dio nombre la primer habla  
 con la palabra de Dios  
 la Ley que les puso guardan.  
 Pues si el fuero natural

Si la Ley es la palabra  
 ésa venera su pueblo...(Rom.91-2)

La ley del mundo mayor,  
 el orden del universo  
 con la palabra de Dios  
 guarda la Ley que le dieron  
 Pues si el orden natural



llega hasta el empíreo alcázar,  
¿por qué todos los mortales  
no han de guardar la Ley santa?

Si dice a sus escogidos  
la inmensidad increada  
Ley, "Estéis para siempre",  
¿cómo intentáis derogarle?  
Un solo Dios divulgaron  
los profetas, pues si hallan  
que es uno sin distinción,  
la Ley es una sin falta.  
Yo lo digo y los sustento  
con tan cierta confianza  
que ya es mía la victoria  
aun antes de la batalla.

(Contra, 11.2654-93)

observaron tierra y cielo  
sin variar la palabra  
del mandamiento primero  
¿por qué este mundo menor,...  
no ha de guardar la Ley santa  
que escribió Dios con su dedo?

(Rom. 11.119-30)

Si él dice: 'Ley sempiterna  
os di', ¿qué delirio nuevo  
término puso a su mano  
comentándolo lo eterno? (11.71-4)

Si son tres dioses en uno  
los profetas se perdieron,  
pues adoraron el uno  
y los dos no conocieron. (11.167-70)

Celo's speech continues for a further eighty-five lines in which no parallels with the Romance appear.

Despite the evident similarities, a closer consideration of the style, both in general and in the particular, reveals great divergences - in general a more elaborate rhetorical approach in Contra la verdad, as in the case of 'Prendedme, echadme al incendio...' (1.2582) and in the repetition of further on (not reproduced above) of 'Veis aquí...' four times, followed by that of 'que en el...' (also four times), and leading to the antiphonal use of parenthesis in: 'incliné (torpeza grande)/ entregué (crueldad extraña)/ moví (atrevimiento loco)/ expuse (acción temeraria)' (11.2594-605). There is perhaps, too, less regard paid overall to the basic four-line 'stanza' of the romance form than in the Romance al divín mártir, coupled with a correspondingly greater tendency towards the use of enjambement (e.g. 11.2655-6: '...instancia/ahogáis...'). As regards vocabulary, the preference is for high-flown words: one may see this illustrated in lines which directly repeat the Romance, as in

the case of 'flama' (l.2583) in the place of the more commonplace 'llama' (Rom.283). Another example is that of the fire as 'crisol de las ansias' (l.2613) rather than 'crisol de la carne' (Rom.l.378): again the more abstract word replaces the more immediate and concrete. Indeed, these examples suggest that we have in these passages a clear demonstration of the differences in style between Miguel de Barrios and Antonio Enríquez Gómez: between a relative directness of language and construction, albeit within a poetic convention of intricacy and conceit, and a passionate propensity for circumlocution, word-play and baroque elaboration. In addition, the fact that the analogies we have observed between Contra la verdad and the Romance are drawn over a wide area of the latter poem (though all prior to the messianic prophecy), breaking up the sustained argument found there, suggests a situation of one poet quoting another, borrowing, paraphrasing, elaborating and extending to suit his own purpose, rather than one of the same poet reworking his own previously written material. While all poets, including Barrios, are inclined to reuse successful ideas, Barrios is apt to transfer intact poems from one collection of works to another (e.g. 'Acto segundo de contrición' appears in Coro de las Musas, in 1672 and again in Días penitenciales, in 1684) and in Contra la verdad, lines 2420-33, one finds the sonnet designated 'Acto quinto de contrición' (from Días penitenciales) reproduced with the substitution of only three words.

Further, the context in which the lines appear in Contra la verdad is particularly appropriate for quotation, namely, the statement of beliefs made before the Inquisition by Abrahán Atias and put into the mouth of Albedrío, followed by the declaration of Celo in support of the three victims of the Inquisition whose martyrdom is the subject of the auto and his argument in favour of the Law of Moses and the One God. This is precisely the situation in which one might draw upon arguments previously penned by another poet, in a work, moreover, which appears to



have gained popularity both in Amsterdam and Italy, (see extant manuscripts) largely because of the manner in which it voices Judaic belief. As we have observed, the echoes of the Romance are all from the discursive, non-messianic section of the poem. Finally and most tellingly, in Memorial de los mártires, in which Barrios discusses Lope de Vera (see quotation, above, p.<sup>52</sup>) he lists the works which take his martyrdom as their theme ('celebran los versos...') but he makes no mention of any poem written by himself. It would be extraordinary for him not to have done so, had he written such a poem.<sup>32</sup> There can be no question of Barrios' reference pre-dating the Romance: Memorial de los mártires was published in 1684 along with other material relating to the poet's 'Jewish' period i.e. after his establishment in Amsterdam in 1674, while the Bodleian copy of the Romance has already been dated at 1666-8 (see above p.49).

One may conclude, therefore, that the evidence of similarities between Barrios Contra la verdad and the Romance points, not to Barrios as the author of both but, on the contrary, to independent existence of another poem to which he pays homage in this manner. Indeed, it would not be wrong to argue that the correlations between the two works actually confirm that the poem we have in the Bodleian Library manuscript is the poem as written by Enríquez Gómez: Barrios knew it, therefore he quoted from it.

There remains one other proposition to consider with respect to the authorship of the poem, namely that, while it may be largely by Enríquez Gómez, another author, perhaps Miguel de Barrios again, had a hand in its writing. After all the Livorno manuscript has been amended in such a way that it no longer appears to be a poem but the actual pronouncement of its subject, Lope de Vera. Also, it might be thought that a prophetic and messianic passage as is to be found in the second speech

would, by its esoteric nature, demand a higher degree of knowledge of Kabbalah and other related matters than Enríquez Gómez can possibly have possessed. Taking these points in turn, it is, firstly, difficult to discern the hand of another poet at any point in the poem: the poem proceeds naturally, without unreasonable or abnormal changes of direction or tone or inexplicable intrusions of disparate elements. The only possible exception is at line 381, where the messianic prophecy begins; here it would be possible to postulate that the original climax of the poem has been replaced by another. However, if one looks at the poem as it stands, there can be seen a unity which suggests that it has been conceived as a complete entity: in each part of the poem there is a brief introductory passage followed by a speech which begins on a low note, discursive in the one, semi-mystical in the other, and develops to reach a climactic pitch at the end, a minor climax in the first speech, the major climax in the second. In each case this climax takes the form of a harangue. Further, each half of the poem complements the other, in that each is an elaboration of one part of the story of Lope de Vera: the explanation of his views which the Inquisitors persuaded him to write down, followed by his last words at the stake. But perhaps the most conclusive evidence is to be found in the fact that the incidence of parallels between this poem and the known works of Antonio Enríquez Gómez (see, above, p.55) is distributed more or less equally between both parts of the poem.

Regarding the messianic prophecy it may appear, at first sight, full of esoteric mystical and Kabbalistic allusions which would indicate an author not only well-read, but integrated into a community where such matters are commonplace - as was Barrios. However, closer study reveals (1) a basic plan based on the Book of Daniel i.e. an easily accessible source (2) the influence on style and content of the Trovas of Bandarra, again an available source and (3) such specialized data (especially Jewish)



as occurs can be frequently traced to sources available in the society at large. That is to say that nothing in this passage precludes Antonio Enríquez Gómez from the authorship, indeed it displays the very level of knowledge and the kind which one would expect of this particular poet.

If, finally, one adds the positive evidence for this poem having been written by Enríquez Gómez - the external evidence which indicates it, the general conception and content, thematic and stylistic parallels and detailed textual comparisons as have been outlined above, not to mention the general literary competence of the whole work, there seems little doubt that the Romance al divín mártir was indeed written by this poet and, moreover, wholly written by him.

### iii) The dating of the 'Romance'

No indication of the date of composition of the Romance can be derived from known external sources. The earliest manuscript has been put at 1666 to 1668, that is to say, after the verifiable date of the author's death. Antonio Enríquez Gómez himself, as we have said, makes no reference to the work in the preface to Sansón Nazareno, unless in fact Triunfos inmortales is the poem in question, possibly, a first plan of a work on this theme. In this case it would date in its present form from 1649 or after. However, it is possible, more likely even, that the work named might have been the version of the already written Romance which Enríquez intended to publish. This would mean that it was written prior to 1649, within the limit of time suggested below.

The only other possible clue is the reference by Manuel Fernandes Vilareal in his preface to Academias morales de las Musas (1642) to Enríquez Gómez's 'poema de Tubal'. Since the idea of the return of

the Jews to Spain, designated by the term 'Tubal', is mentioned in the Romance (1.461), it could be thought that this is a reference to this poem - were it not for the fact that the subject, Lope de Vera, did not suffer his martyrdom until 1644, two years after the publication of Academias morales. There might nonetheless be a correlation between the two poems, but since the 'poema de Tubal' has not survived, this is impossible to verify.

On the other hand, from the internal evidence provided by the poem itself, one can set the limits within which it must have been written. Since the events which it records, the martyrdom of Don Lope de Vera y Alarcón, took place in 1644, it cannot be earlier than that date. Similarly, it must be earlier than the latter half of 1649 or January, 1650, when the poet returned to Spain. It is highly unlikely that he composed it after that date, since if he was Fernando de Zárate, the playwright, the works under that name are marked by a totally Catholic inspiration which conflicts with the contents of this poem. If he was not, that content, being overtly Jewish, would have put its author in any case at intolerable risk. Further, if we are correct in our analysis of his mood in 1647-9, his return to Spain signalled the end of his internal debate, making it improbable that he wrote a work of so strongly Jewish a character after his return. A further point is that of the messianic content of the poem, which, while it might be of general intent, would seem with greater probability to be centred on the 'Zoharitic' year of 1648.<sup>34</sup> On these grounds one is inclined to date the poem from between 1644 and 1648.

There are other factors which may help us to be more precise. By a remarkable coincidence 1644 was also the year in which the Trovas of Gonçalo Annes de Bandarra were published for the first time, at the expense moreover of the Marquis of Niza.<sup>35</sup> As has already been seen,



the curious prophecies contained in the Trovas played an important part in the 'messianism' of the movement for Portuguese Independence, in which Enríquez Gómez was closely involved. It may be that the publication of the verses of Bandarra aroused the interest of Enríquez Gómez and suggested a combination of the theme of Lope de Vera with a messianic prophecy in the manner of the other poet.

On the other hand, it is more probable that its effect was delayed and that it was the visit of P. Antonio Vieira to France in 1646<sup>36</sup> which stimulated him to see the Trovas in a more universal, less narrowly political light. Although Vieira's main concern was with the negotiations with the Dutch over the return of Pernambuco to Portugal, he was also preoccupied with the problem of the New Christians, especially those outside Portugal, whom he thought could be persuaded to return, in exchange for concessions such as the removal of the threat of confiscation of property by the Inquisition, in order to boost the country's sagging economy. Further he saw the Jews as having a rôle to play in his general messianic ideas, into which he also incorporated Sebastianism, the Trovas, ideas from a variety of other sources, as well as contemporary events, suitably interpreted, as they occurred. These ideas were later to be expounded in his História do Futuro in 1663, but they were largely developed before that date.<sup>37</sup> Certainly, in 1646 he was a convinced messianist and it is very likely that he discussed his views with those whom he met. Enríquez Gómez was certainly in indirect contact with him through Vilareal, who had dealings with him as part of his consular functions; he may also have been among the 'Jewish' merchants Vieira met in Rouen on 2 April, 1646. Thus, Antonio Enríquez Gómez was in a position to gain access to the words and thoughts of Vieira and to be inspired with his religious, rather than simply political, messianic interpretation of the Trovas.

Consequently, it was not until after Vieira's visit in 1646 that the idea of the Romance took shape. During the events of his life from 1647 onwards, the influence of Vieira's thoughts worked on him: the advent of the 'Zoharitic' year of 1648 and the events of the Fronde, referred to in the poem (ll.401-4), suggest that the work actually came to fruition just a little later, in 1648.

iv) The poem itself: its subject.

The subject of the Romance, Don Lope de Vera y Alarcón, presents an extraordinary case in the annals of the Inquisition. The full story has been given by Cecil Roth,<sup>38</sup> but the main points are as follows: born in 1626 of irreproachable Old Christian stock, he became interested in Judaism during his studies at the University of Salamanca, which included Arabic, Hebrew and Chaldean. He sought out New Christians whom he suspected of judaising and learned of their beliefs from them. In 1639, he was arrested by the Inquisition on suspicion of proselytising. At first he maintained his catholic orthodoxy but in April, 1641, he retracted his previous statements and declared that he wanted to become a Jew. Learned men were sent to him to try to dissuade him but he seems, on the contrary, to have tried to convert them to his way of thinking. In August, 1641, he circumcised himself (with a bone according to Isaac Cardoso) and took the name of Judá Creyente. Although he gave up speaking to his captors (except to cry 'Viva la ley de Moisen'), he was persuaded to write down his beliefs for the tribunal. Finally, he was turned over to the secular authorities on 27 January, 1643, but it was not until 25 June 1644, that he was eventually burned following an auto in Valledolid.

His death caused a great stir among Marranos and Jews abroad, though at the same time his case had the effect of nurturing the



unfounded suspicions of the Inquisition concerning proselytising by New Christians.<sup>39</sup> Miguel de Barrios makes at least four references to it in his writings<sup>40</sup> and both Manasseh ben Israel in his Esperanza de Israel (Amsterdam, 1650) and Isaac Cardoso in his Excelencias de los Hebreos (1675) recount Lope's story in their Jewish martyrologies.

As to how people abroad learned of the details of the affair, there are two documents extant which show how this was done. The first is a private piece of correspondence sent by the Inquisitor Moscoso to the Marquesa de Monterey, which gives a sober, undistorted account of Lope's trial and death and a copy of which somehow came into the hands of the Jews of Amsterdam. We know from a reference of Miguel de Barrios in Memorial de los mártires (quoted above, p.52) that he knew of the letter and perhaps had a copy of it: there can be little doubt that there were others in circulation.<sup>41</sup> The second account, to be found in the British Museum<sup>42</sup> together with other reports of autos, contains a few more details of the beliefs of Lope de Vera but also statements which appear in no other account and which sometimes are demonstrably untrue, for example, that Lope de Vera had been a Jew all his life: 'dijo [que] a la obserbancia de la ley de Moyses le havía lleuado siempre su natural' (fol.202<sup>r</sup>.) It also states that Lope claimed to be the Messiah and would be resurrected three days after his death and that he wished to go to Constantinople to become an alfaquí in one of the mosques there. The inclusion of these elements suggests that the document is not an actual report of the trial nor certainly an Inquisitional record itself: whatever else may be held against the Inquisition and their conduct of trials, they were scrupulous in the matter of recording the testimony of witnesses (cf. the Moscoso letter).<sup>43</sup> Since the author's purpose would appear to be to denigrate the victim - the reference to his supposed Mohammedanism in conjunction with his Judaism suggests an insincerity of faith - it may well be that this is a document issued by the Inquisition for the purposes

of propaganda, directed towards revealing the iniquities of the accused and justifying his condemnation. That such documents though far from common, were issued can be seen from the case of Fray Diogo da Asunção, who also turned from Catholic orthodoxy to Judaism and was burned in Lisbon in 1603. As in that case, the enterprise no doubt backfired and served only to popularise the story of Lope de Vera's martyrdom.<sup>44</sup>

From these two accounts together one can conclude that Enríquez Gómez had access to the facts of the Lope de Vera affair, in addition to what rumour provided during the five or so years that the trial lasted.<sup>45</sup>

v) Structure and analysis.

The poem is basically in two parts. The first introduces the situation of Lope de Vera as he is brought to the stake (ll.1-43) and outlines his story up to this point: his imprisonment by the Inquisition (1.1 etc.), his undergoing torture (1.12), his self-circumcision 'cual otro Abraham' (1.16), his arguments with learned men sent to dissuade him, his going to his death being proof that he has conquered over their 'sofísticos argumentos', his cry of 'Viva el Nombre de Adonay' (cf. MS. Egerton fol.204<sup>r</sup>. 'Viva la ley de Moyses'), and his defiance in the face of the Inquisitors and hostile crowd (ll.29-38). Following this (1.47 ff.), he begins a speech whose 'metafísica simple' he hopes will be as 'veneno' to his audience. None of the sources refers to such a speech but it can be taken as a poetic and dramatic realization of the statement which Lope was induced to write down for his Inquisitors. Towards the end of this speech (ll.267-310) he defiantly proclaims his identification with Israel (ll.271-2: 'Peregrino en Israel / seré yo



por nacimiento') and his willingness to die a martyr's death (1.307: 'Muera yo sin profanar su santo Nombre supremo' et seq.). Lastly, he is described as he is tied to the stake and the wood is piled around him 'para arder el sacrificio'(1.313).

The second part begins with the victim, as the flames rise up around him, offering a prayer to God (1.319 ff.) and again declaring his willingness to die for his faith. He goes on to describe his love of the Law in terms of a love relationship with the Law as the beloved for whom he, the lover, is literally dying for love (1.337 ff.). He then offers his body to God in the knowledge that there is a life to come in which he will be resurrected like the Phoenix (1.365-8) and reunited with his Creator (1.369-72) (here the metaphor is reinterpreted with his soul as the bride of God, 1.369, a reflection of Christian mystical poetry). In this way his faith will be distilled out, rendered pure in the crucible of the flames which now destroy his flesh (1.373-80)

At this point of mystical exaltation, the passage takes off into a messianic prophecy (1.381 ff.) which parallels the harangue at the end of the first speech (11.267-310) but which lifts the poem to a higher rhetorical climax. It begins by threatening the persecuting nation with destruction at the hands of 'América' whose forces will descend from the north to destroy the southern seas (11.393-7), after which various civil and political upheavals are forecast: civil wars (11.401-4), inter-state wars (11.405-12), famine and other unspecified disasters (11.412-16), the appearance of religious leaders (1.417) whose preachings will lead to yet more bloodshed caused by the conflict in battle of their rival supporters (11.421-4). After the fall of fourteen temples and the destruction of idols (those of the cults described above?), these will be followed by two more false prophets who will carry away the minds of the credulous but will be denounced and die for their follies (1.429-40).

The fall of the empire of Babel (Christianity) is then prophesied (1.441), symbolised by the Fourth Beast of the Book of Daniel. Following these events, the persecuted race of Israel will be liberated and Tubal (Spain) will open her doors to them (11.457-65), while the Lost Tribes will also re-emerge (11.469-72) and the Orient be peopled both by native Jews and by those of the Diaspora (11.473-4). The end of Babel ushers in a time of peace and harmony (1.479-84). Cataclysmic events are then to be expected, though the 'good princes' (such as the rulers of Italian states who sheltered Jews) will be spared (11.489-90), and out of them a new king (11.491-6) will emerge to usher in the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, (Daniel 9:24) the advent of the Messiah (11.496-509). A prophet will emerge to convert the gentiles and establish a new law for the ten nations of mankind (11.509-16); the Nile will flow with blood (1.517) and the Red Sea will be visited by Cherubim representing Israel (11.518-22); armies will reappear and a period of upheaval and war ensue involving untold suffering (11.527-34). Israel will then emerge as liberators: the Messiah will appear and establish his Law from Jerusalem, thus bringing all idolatry to an end (11.535-49). On this high note the poem comes to an end, with the following brief words regarding the martyr: 'Este dijo y murió luego' (1.550).

#### The First Speech (lines 47-310)

Turning now to examine in greater detail the central pillars of the poem, the two speeches, in particular for what they reveal of the poet's religious attitudes and knowledge, we find that the over-riding theme of the First Speech is the oneness and eternal character of God and, as a concomitant, the oneness and eternal character of God's Law: 'Su Nombre...es uno;/ pues,...una es la Ley por derecho' (11.131-4). The argument is developed as follows:- firstly, the Law is that given



to Israel on Sinai and it is immutable and everlasting: 'Dios dio ley a Israel / con un carácter eterno (11.63-4). These qualities spring from God, who is eternal and immutable himself: 'siendo su Nombre abeterno' (1.86) 'siendo infinito Dios' (1.93), and thus cannot be altered by 'el sacrilegio idumeo' i.e. the beliefs and practice of Christianity (Edom signifying Rome in Rabbinic tradition), nor in any other way by mankind. For, though God, the prime cause is eternal, Man, the 'effect', is not (11.87-90) and neither are his deeds: we cannot usurp God's place. Since God is eternal and so too is his word (the Law), it is folly to seek to alter it: 'Si esta luz intelectual / alumbra sol / de su mismo, / ¿qué luminaria se opone / a turbarle los reflejos?'. The covenant between Man and God (i.e. between Israel and God) is binding for ever (1.106 '¿cómo ha de haber otro nuevo?'); while Man may default on his part of the bargain, God will not and cannot do so, whatever happens: 'No guardarlo puede el hombre / en lo que toca al concierto; / pero, de parte de Dios, / siempre vive el firmamento' (11.107-10). If he did, it would mean that he could change and would not then be eternal. Moreover, to dispute this is to defy elementary truths about the universe; the macrocosm obeys God's word, so should Man, the microcosm (11.119-39)

La ley del mundo mayor,  
el orden del universo,  
con la palabra de Dios  
guarda la Ley que le dieron.  
Pues, si el orden natural  
observaron tierra y cielo  
sin variar la palabra  
del mandamiento primero,  
¿por qué este mundo meno,  
a la imagen de Dios hecho,  
no ha de guardar la Ley santa,  
que escribió Dios con su dedo?

Secondly, given the unity of God, there can be only one Law - it is not divisible into two testaments, the second has no value:

'...Ley dividida en dos / no tiene seguro asiento' (11.153-4).

Likewise, there cannot be three deities, there can be no Trinity (1.156 ff.) If there were, it would mean, further, that God, the Creator, would be equal to or no greater than what he has created, i.e. the other two elements in the Trinity (11.159-60). Besides, the concept is a denial of the First Commandment: 'Si distintos eran antes / y uno se adoró en el Templo, / errado anduvo aquel culto / en el primer mandamiento (11.171-4).

This is developed further by an attack on the use of 'materiales sujetos' (1.186), images of the Virgin and saints as intercessary figures in the process of obtaining God's forgiveness. These taint the spiritual nature of religion: '¿qué padrino es el madero / para conciliar una alma / con su criador en el cielo?' (11.196-8). Nor, moreover, can there be any other intermediary, including Jesus; only God had in the past and has now the power to punish and forgive (11.215-23). If he has not this power, he has ceased to be the all-powerful God. As for the Crucifixion, 'Redención con sangre' (1.225), it is no more than death, without any saving power. The proposition that Jesus redeemed Man from original sin is also to be refuted: each one of us must pay for his own sins, through repentance (11.245-6) 'si es culpada[la sangre i.e. of Jesus], su delito/puede pagar, no el ajeno'). Finally, if one accepted the redemptive rôle of Jesus, one would be left with no hope, since mankind is apparently no better off now than before the death of Jesus: '¿Qué ha redimido esta sangre, / si los malos y los buenos/ están en peor estado / que antes de morir tuvieron?' (11.255-8). It is right, therefore, to put one's trust, as Lope does, in the saving power of adherence to the Law: 'Si la Ley siendo guardada / tiene salvación de precio, / qué precio tiene la sangre / comparada a los preceptos?' (11.259-62). The reward for this fidelity is eternal life, a prize to be lost if one were to accept the mercy of the Inquisition and 'repent'.



The first point to make in commenting on these arguments is that they are marked by a general tone of opposition to Christianity, rather than by a positive assertion of Jewish values and beliefs. This is only to be expected, though, in a speech of defiance against Inquisitional persecution in the mouth of one who has converted from Christianity to Judaism, written by an author who was not reared in an authentic Jewish environment. In addition to the outright denial of tenets of Christian doctrine - the Trinity, veneration of images, the messiahship of Jesus etc. - the negation of Christianity underlies the whole argument as it proceeds. In particular, the assertion of the oneness of God and his Law, while undeniably a major tenet of Judaism, is stressed in opposition to the concept of the Trinity. The oneness of the Law is set against the attempt to postulate two Laws, the New and the Old Testament. Underlying both these is the principle that the Law has been given once and for all and cannot be changed, in other words that Judaism represents the original and authentic word of God, whereas Christianity is falsifying innovation. Similarly, Judaism is seen, in the discussion of images, as 'La fe santa, la fe pura', (1.203) while Christianity is 'Fe con mezcla material' (1.199).

Secondly, despite the opposition to Christianity, many of the ideas presented reflect the influence of Christian theology. Typical of this is the argument that Jesus has not redeemed Man from Adam's sin, on the grounds that each must pay for his own sins: the concept of original sin itself is not denied, though it is resolutely opposed by Judaism, only the method by which it may be expunged is disputed.<sup>46</sup> More important, there is the assumption of a highly Christianised concept regarding the Law, namely that it 'saves'.<sup>47</sup> While Judaism recognizes that adherence to the Law and its commandments (what is meant by the Law is discussed below) is necessary and is the mark of a good Jew, its function is the sanctification of life, the rendering of it holy by

putting precept into practice as a constant recognition of the greatness and power of God, not as a means of entitling Man to receive God's grace (cf. ll.303-6) 'No quiero misericordia, / que, si con ella le niego / a Dios la Ley que me ha dado, / su gracia divina pierdo. '), and certainly not as a means of earning recompense in the next world. For Judaism, the Law is a practical guide for living in this world, not for laying up store for the next (though it may incidentally do that). This spiritualisation of the Law, summarised by lines 265-6: 'su palabra / no es de material alimento', owes rather more to Christianity than to traditional Judaism.

Lastly, such Jewish notions that do appear in this passage, for example that the Law is that given to Moses on Sinai (l.296-8), are based largely on Old Testament sources, without the benefit of later Rabbinical thought. This is despite the evidence, particularly seen in the messianic Second Speech, that the author of the poem knew of G  n  brard's Latin translations of Rabbinic and post-Rabbinic commentaries which were published as an appendix to the 1609 Lyon edition of his Chronographia under the title of Chronologia Hebraeorum.<sup>48</sup> Although, for example, there are several points of contact between the Romance and Maimonides' discussion of his 'Thirteen Principles' given there - the emphasis on the One God and the unity of God,<sup>49</sup> the denial of intermediaries, the completeness and immutability of the Law - none of these leads necessarily to an understanding of the r  le of Rabbinic Literature in the evolution of Jewish thought and indeed many of Maimonides' comments might be taken on the face of it as supporting the supremacy of the Pentateuch. To illustrate this point, one can quote his Article 9, regarding the Law:

Eo credimus legem Mosis non esse revelandam neque permutandam, neque aliam a Deo profecturam, nihil ei esse addendum, nihil detrahendum quo ad scriptum, eiusque sententiam et explicationem. (G  n  brard, p.66)



To the untutored this might give the impression that the Torah is no more than the Five Books of Moses. From the many references to the Ten Commandments (e.g. l.125 to 'el mandamiento primero') and the emphasis on the Old Testament, which comes through in the frequent allusions to its events and the words of the Prophets (l.218, the Golden Calf; l.132 and 219, Isaiah), it would seem that Enríquez Gómez sees the Law in terms of the Pentateuch or the Old Testament as a whole, rather than the corpus of laws embodied in the Written and Oral Torah together. There is nothing to suggest, moreover, that when he talks of 'preceptos' (e.g.l.42), the poet is thinking of the 613 positive and negative mitzvot which, though contained in the Pentateuch, owe their identification to the Rabbis of the Talmud.

The theology of this speech would appear to be a typical example of Marrano religious ideas - Biblical rather than based on developed Jewish tradition, negatively expressed in opposition to Christianity, and imbued with the religion which is being rejected.

#### The Second Speech (ll.319-549)

Regarding the first section of this speech (ll.319-80), much of what has been said concerning the First Speech applies here. While there are connections between the appeal to God and Jewish liturgy, which will be examined in Chapter Four, there is the same emphasis on God as the God of Israel, the One God of the Old Testament, whose Law is not to be repudiated merely on grounds of age: 'Por vieja la repudieron,/iy el oro de sus cabellos /.../ alumbran el universo!' On the other hand, there is the Christian perspective directed towards reward in the next life seen earlier with reference to the 'saving' power of the Law (p.73). This is exemplified in the assumption expressed by Lope de Vera that true life is to be found beyond death, particularly

death through martyrdom, rather than in life on earth: '... si muero por quien vivo, / ya vivo de lo que muero' (ll.338-9) or in the mystical description of the soul emerging to its heavenly existence:

Desta materia caduca  
en el mundo venidero  
veré al Señor, pues el polvo  
serafín es con aliento.  
Vivo entre el fuego voraz  
el espíritu que tengo  
en el crisol de la carne  
purificará su celo.

At line 381, there begins the messianic prophecy, a summary of which has already been given. Before discussing its content in detail, let us first examine its structure. The whole passage is based on the Book of Daniel, the locus classicus of Messianic speculation, which Enríquez Gómez has followed closely from the point of view of over-all strategy. It can be plotted as follows:

lines 393-440:

the avenging armies from the north, division in the kingdom, wars, famine, false prophets - cf. Daniel 11: the destruction of Babel by Persia upheavals in the East, fall of successive empires, terminating in the divisions in the Greek Empire.

lines 441-78:

the duration of the Empire of Babel, its destruction (portrayed as the agonising death of the Fourth Beast) and its consequences (re-emergence of the Lost Tribes of Israel and return of Jews to Spain) - cf. Daniel 9: the end of the Fourth Kingdom (Babel)<sup>50</sup> symbolised by the Fourth Beast of Daniel's vision (Dan.7:19)

lines 479-508:

the establishment of a new kingdom and accomplishment of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks (interpreted as seventy Jubilees) - cf. Daniel 9: the conquest of Babylon (by Cyrus) and the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks (Dan.9:247)



lines 509-50(end):

the appearance of a wild man and two cherubim to preach to the Gentiles, period of war and world-wide destruction and Coming of the Messiah - cf. Daniel 10-12: the appearance of the 'man clothed in linen' (Dan.10:5) and the Guardian Angels of Israel to defeat Persia, divisions in the empire, referred to above in connection with Daniel 11. There is also a reflection of Ezekiel's prophecy (Ez:38 and 39:11) of the wars of Gog and Magog in this last section or at least the general concept of the so-called 'birth-pangs' of the Messiah.

If we add to this structure derived from Daniel the numerous references to the Old Testament - Exodus 7:17(1.517), Numbers 24:17 (1.536) and 24:18 (1.540), Isaiah 2:2-3 (11.543-5), 9:6 (1.538) and 11:4 (1.539) etc. - it will be apparent that the prophecy has a strongly biblical base. However, the question now to be answered is: how far can it be said to be authentically Jewish and how far has it been influenced by other sources outside Judaism?

By its very nature - its reference to a Messiah to come - its intention must be regarded as broadly Jewish. On the other hand, there is much here which is not specifically Jewish: the biblical sources are common ground between Christian and Jewish commentators, as can be seen in the description of the Messiah as 'Lucero,/ nueva Estrella de Jacob,/ Príncipe de paz eterno'(11.536-8) cf. 'a star out of Jacob' (Num.24:17) and 'Prince of Peace' (Is.9:6), phrases which are frequently used by Christians to apply to Jesus.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, the poet's view of the Messiah as a whole cannot be said to be particularly Jewish, except that there is no reference to either the death of the Messiah or to a lowly and abased status in life. But here the principle of negation of Christianity may be at work. This may also explain why there is no mention of the Prophet Elijah, who, it is believed, will appear in advance of the Messiah

and whose rôle Christians assign to John the Baptist. The poet may have chosen to eliminate him altogether rather than risk his being associated with the Christian saint, preferring instead to portray the shining figure of Daniel 12 as the precursor of the Messiah and in doing so keeping within the chosen model of the Book of Daniel.

Other elements can also be assigned to this common ground or to popular knowledge in general: the appearance of celestial signs ('siete cometas' 1.505), cataclysmic events preceding the Messiah (1.523 ff. cf. Christian ideas relating to the Second Coming of Jesus), the establishment of one new Law and the obeisance of all nations to the Messiah (11.515 & 11.539-48). Also, the idea that 'Tubal' would be the setting for an In-gathering of Exiles, while reminiscent of Ibn Daud's view expressed in Sefer ha-Qabbalah (see above p.<sup>42</sup>), may be based on the supposed biblical origins of the people of Spain given by Mariana in his history, De rebus hispaniae (Toledo, 1592), and have been influenced by Marranic nostalgia for the country of birth. Similarly, the reference to the sparing of 'los príncipes pequeños / que administraren justicia' (11.488-9) recalls Manasseh ben Israel's like gesture of gratitude towards the rulers of the Italian states which had sheltered Jews in his Esperanza de Israel, but in view of its date of publication, 1650, this can be largely ruled out as an influence on this poem and lead one to suppose a common source, possibly biblical.

Another source which attracted the interest of exegetes, both Jewish and Christian, is Daniel's prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, though their interpretations are radically different. For the Christians, it is a prophecy of the coming of Jesus and his death, particularly in the part which refers to an anointed one who is 'cut off' but returns (vv. 26-7). The Jewish commentators insist that the passage is historical and refers only to the seventy years of the Babylonian Exile and that



the annointed one is Cyrus or Agrippa.<sup>51</sup> While rejecting the Christian interpretation, Enríquez Gómez (11.497-503) nonetheless interprets the passage in a messianic sense, contrary to the Jewish view. In doing so, he takes each week as one Jubilee i.e. fifty years and, though there seems to be no exact parallel for this in Rabbinic Literature, the Talmud does discuss the date for the advent of the Messiah in terms of Jubilees.

Now, it is precisely the tractate in question, Sanhedrin fol.197 a-b, which appears in Gênébrard's appendix to Chronographia, referred to above. This work also includes part of Elijah ben Asher's Sefer Methurgeman and Maimonides' discussion of the Messiah from 'Hilkot Melachim' in his Mishneh Torah, both of which together provide a complete compendium of Old Testament sources relating to this topic, which could have encouraged Enríquez Gómez in his use of them, despite their appropriation by Christianity. Examples are: Numbers 24:17 'a star out of Jacob' (Rom.1.537); Numbers 24:18 'And Edom shall be a possession' (Rom.1.540); Deuteronomy 30:3-5 with reference to the ingathering of Exiles (Rom.1.459) -all referred to by Maimonides(Gén.p.48) Further, one can point to specific items whose inclusion or omission indicates the influence of these two commentaries: the absence of reference to the Resurrection of the Dead, specifically excluded by Maimonides as a sign of the Coming (Gén.p.49: '...ne arbitreris regem Christum necessario effecturum signa & prodigia, aliquid innouaturum in mundo, viuificaturum mortuos...') or to the death of the Messiah, indicated by Maimonides as disproving a candidate's claim (Gén.p.49 with reference to Bar Kochva); emphasis on the restoration of the Law after the Coming (Rom. 1.545 ff.cf. Maimonides, Gén.pp.49 & 50); Jesus and Mohammed as preparing the way for the Messiah (Maim.Gén.p.49 cf. 'dos hombres etc.' Rom.1.421 ff.); false prophets predicted in Daniel 11:14 (Maim. Gén. p.49 cf. Rom.1.429 ff.) ; the vision of harmony in Isaiah 11:9 to be taken figuratively (Maim.Gén.p.49 cf. apparent symbolism of

Rom.11.478-87);famine singled out as the worst plague (Sefer Methurgeman, Gén.p.52 cf. Rom.1.415). The list is not exhaustive but it is perhaps enough to indicate, together with the coincidence of Enríquez Gómez's use of Jubilees and the presence in Gênébrard's work of the Tractate Sanhedrin passage, that the poet indeed had access to authentic Jewish material through this intermediary.<sup>52</sup>

The relevant passage in the Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin f.97 a-b, reads as follows:

Dixit Elias Rabbi Iehudae fratri R.Sallae Esseni (vel sancti).  
Mundus non habet Iubileos pauciores octoginta quinque (.i. annis  
4250). Extremo autem Iubileo filius Daudis venit. (Gén.p.55)

This would seem to provide the justification for Enríquez Gómez's calculation by Jubilees, according to which the Coming of the son of David would occur 3500 years i.e. seventy Jubilees after a date unspecified.<sup>53</sup> However, many Jewish calculators fix their terminus a quo in relation to the First Exile in Egypt and particularly the Exodus.<sup>54</sup> The Ferrara Bible (1555 and subsequent editions) contains a chronology which puts the date of the Exodus at 2448 A.M., which gives rise to the year 5948 A.M. (3500+2448) - well beyond the minimum duration for the world given in the above quotation. It is, in turn, fifty-two years, or approximately one Jubilee prior to the year 6000 A.M., which according to many messianic speculators would see the end of the present world and the beginning of the era of the Messiah. Thus, Enríquez Gómez's 'timetable' fits in, firstly, with the reference above to the Coming taking place in the last Jubilee and, secondly, with another Jewish tradition, which in fact derives from elsewhere in the self-same passage in the Talmud:

Docet Domus Eliae, Sex mille annis erit mundus, Duobus mille  
inanitas, duobus mille lex, duobus mille dies Christi. (Gén.p.55)

This is qualified by the words of Rabbi Katina (Gén.p.54) who likens the millenia to the days of the week, making it the seventh millenium which



will see the Sabbath of the world, or the era of the God.

The idea of the six millenia duration of the world had, of course, come into classical thought and is a commonplace in the writings of the Christian Kabbalists of the Renaissance, such as Pico de la Mirandola, Raimundo Martí and Jean Carrion (whose Chroniques particularly popularised it),<sup>55</sup> but, whereas these writers concentrated on the so-called 'prophecy of Elijah' (see quotation above) which points to the fifth millenium for the Messiah (or 'Second Coming' as they saw it), Enríquez Gómez with Rabbi Katina indicates the seventh millenium. The Jewish context of R.Katina's remarks, not to mention the other evidence that Enríquez knew the Tractate from which it comes also points to the poet's source as being Talmudic. León Hebreo refers to the Kabbalistic notion of the seven cycles of seven millenia in the third of his Diálogos de Amor (1568) and this was a work which we know Enríquez Gómez had read, from marginal and textual references to it in La Culpa del primer peregrino and the wholesale borrowing there (pp.125-9) of Aron Afia's definitions of the soul which appear in his appendix to the Spanish edition of the Diálogos.<sup>56</sup> León Hebreo's Philon explains:

De los siete mil annos, los seis mil sienpre el chaos de los inferiores cuerpos cria, y acabado estos dizen [los rabinos] que recogiendo en sí toda cosa se reposa, nel setemilesimo anno y en aquel interualo, se emprenha a nueva generacion por seis mil annos. (Diálogos, fol.70<sup>v</sup>)

He refrains however from spelling out the full, messianic significance of these events, therefore, it must be that Enríquez Gómez has derived his ideas, not from León Hebreo, but from Rabbi Katina and the Talmud.

To summarise what the poet has done in respect of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, he has combined several ideas or suggestions from an authentic Jewish source and applied them to a concept which derives from his Christian background, namely the messianic interpretation of Daniel 9:24-7.

With his dating for the duration of the Fourth Kingdom, Babel, (11.441 ff.) he appears to have operated in a similar way, if with a less specific Jewish source in mind. His phrase 'siete tiempos y tres años' (1.441) would appear to be equivalent to the phrase 'time and times and half a time' of Daniel 7:25 and 12:7,<sup>57</sup> or at least as indicating 'time and half a time', three being approximately half of seven.<sup>58</sup> As in the Book of Daniel the phrase is repeated (1.441 and 475) in connection with the date at which the prophecies are to be fulfilled, and in the context of the Romance it clearly alludes to the total duration of the Empire. This strongly suggests that an equivalent to Daniel's phrase is intended, rather than the superficial sense of three years and seven 'seasons' i.e. one and three-quarter years, amounting to a total of four and three-quarter years - a short period indeed for the rule of Babel to endure.

However, no Jewish authority makes the calculation in this way: some state that the phrase is equivalent to two and a half times a set figure, others three and a half times, while others again add up two or more different figures and add half the total to the sum.<sup>59</sup> None produces a calculation of one and a half times a figure. Therefore, one is inclined to rule out a specific source and to suggest that Enríquez Gómez has evolved his own calculation in the manner of the Jewish authorities. The reason for this slight difference of approach, as compared with his treatment of the Seventy Weeks, may well be that the discussion of 'time, times and half a time' in the Tractate Sanhedrin (Gén.p.55) deals exclusively with the Machabean and Bar Kochva revolts, thus forcing the poet to develop his own calculation relating to his own period. Post -Talmudic speculators, such as the ninth century Rabbi Sa'adia (Silver, op.cit.p.50) take the phrase 'time and times and half a time' as equivalent to the '1335 days' (taken as years) of Daniel 12.12: 'Happy is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three



hundred and five and thirty days'. But, since the 'tres' of 'siete tiempos y tres años' is in fact less than half of seven (making the phrase not quite 'one and a half times'), this suggests that a lesser figure than 1335 is to be taken. This is to be found in Daniel 12.11 (the preceding verse) where the figure of 1290 is given.<sup>60</sup> Adding this to the date when Christianity was officially declared the religion of the Roman Empire, 391 C.E., we obtain the year 1681, which fits in with the over-all chronology of the Romance's messianic prophecy.

Regarding this chronology itself, its years of nine (1.394), forty-nine (1.401), sixty-six (1.414),<sup>61</sup> seventy-five (1.417), seventy-six (1.425) and ninety (1.493) correspond, with the exception of the first date, with the Jubilee period 1640-90,<sup>62</sup> which, according to the Zohar, was to be regarded as a whole as a period of redemption. Within it falls the year of 1648, the year predicted by the Zohar for the Coming itself: this would appear to be referred to by the phrase 'Antes de cuarenta y nueve' (1.401) (1648 being before '49). The odd date, 'nine' might in this case refer to the idea that the redemption of the Jews would take place forty years before the Coming, also to be found in the Zohar.<sup>63</sup> However, besides the fact that the poem makes no reference to the redemption of the Jews at that point in the prophecy and only generally to the idea of deliverance (by the armies of America), this seems unnecessarily obscure if an allusion to Zoharitic ideas is intended. It certainly does not indicate that the author was conversant with its teachings, but it may, on the other hand, indicate an awareness of the importance of the year 1648, achieved through contact with Jews or more knowledgeable judaisers in Rouen. It is worth noting that his reference to the year 1666, considered on the basis of the Revelation of St. John as the date for the Second Coming (and adopted by Sabbatai Zevi for his self-revelation as the Messiah) is equally unemphatic; although he must surely have been aware of its significance, particularly

if he had engaged, as has been suggested, in conversations with Antonio Vieira on the messianic topic.

From these examples one can see in Antonio Enríquez Gómez's messianic prophecy the extensive use of the 'neutral' source, the Old Testament but also some evidence of access to essentially Jewish sources, ranging from the vague and generalized (in the case of the Zohar) to the positively identifiable (in the case of the Talmud and counting by Jubilees for the Seventy Weeks). However, even in the latter case the poet has undertaken his own literary development or exploitation of ideas in the manner of the source but with no specific substantiation in them. This suggests that, while Enríquez Gómez seems to have gained some awareness of Talmudic and post-Talmudic rabbinic writings, from Générard and perhaps other freely available sources such as the works of the Christian Kabbalists, his knowledge extends only to a certain point beyond which he has been left to his own devices.

#### Influences outside Judaism and the Bible:

The most important of these influences is that of the Trovas of Gonçalo Annes Bandarra. In this poem, consisting of three 'sonhos' or visions, the coming of a king is prophesied to end the torment of the Portuguese nation and lead to the defeat of the enemies of Christendom, the Turks and to the universal acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah. As we saw in Chapter Two (above, p.40), this poem played a central propaganda rôle in the movement for Portuguese independence, a movement in which Enríquez Gómez was closely involved. Moreover, it was Enríquez Gómez's leader in the Portuguese diplomatic camp, the Marquis of Niza, who was responsible for the first printed edition of the Trovas at Nantes in 1644. Given these circumstantial connections between Bandarra's poem and Enríquez Gómez, it seems quite probable that the Trovas were the inspiration behind the latter's Romance leading him in the mood which descended upon him in his last years in France to



produce a Jewish messianic prophecy to match the Christian messianism of the other.

If one examines the Trovas and prophetic passage of the Romance together, one observes that both have a similar imaginative and rhetorical thrust which drives them along and that the same techniques are employed, such as repetition of key phrases, cryptic and half-revealing expressions and the element of the marvellous, which are the hall marks of biblical prophecy. J. Lúcio de Azevedo has described Bandarra's poem as 'palavras a flux, ideias truncadas ... Frases de extravagante contextura, termos que punham em conflito as ideias, torrente verbal que ocorria ao sabor do ritmo e da rima';<sup>64</sup> much the same can be said of Enríquez Gómez's, although it is true that it has a firmer base in its exploitation of the Book of Daniel. Both, however, are recognizably literary products of the same type, different in character from the overtly political and astrological preoccupations of Nostradamus (see below) and certainly from the painstaking analytical and 'scientific' approach of the Jewish messianic speculators discussed in the previous section.

Further, Enríquez Gómez appears to have incorporated in his product many details which occur in the Trovas, with in some cases evidence of direct borrowing. Naturally the material is moulded to the poet's new purpose. Examples are as follows:

a) The general inspiration in the Old Testament, particularly in the Book of Daniel - Enríquez Gómez, as we have seen, makes much use of the whole of Daniel as the basis of his prophecy, while Bandarra uses the first chapter as his principal model, at the same time as extracting miscellaneous elements from elsewhere as required. Both refer to Daniel for proof of the validity of their statements (Bandarra also including Jeremiah in the reference):

que ya del libro sagrado (i.e. Daniel)  
 intelectiva cuaderno,  
 la divina profecía  
 viene apresurando el tiempo.  
 (Rom.11.385-8)

Tudo quanto aqui se diz  
 olhem bem as prophecias,  
 de Daniel e Jeremias,  
 Ponderem nas de raiz.  
 (Trov. stanza CLVIII)<sup>65</sup>

also:

• que el profeta Daniel  
 profetizó con secreto  
 (Rom.11.499-500)

b) The coming of a king prior to the Coming of the Messiah:

Un rey tendrá su corona,  
 tres provincias serán reino ...  
 (Rom.11.491-2)

Ja se cerrão os quarenta  
 que se emmenta  
 por um doutor ja passado  
 o Rei novo he alevantado.  
 (Trov.LXXXVII/XCIX)

In each case, the coming of the king leads to the establishment of a new empire (Rom. 11.491-6, Trov. CLII), the conversions of other peoples to the true faith (Rom.11.509-16, Trov. CLVI), as well as to the messianic Coming itself (Rom.11.535-8, Trov. CLVII), while it is preceded by upheavals (Rom.11.409-10, 415-6, 443-8; Trov.LXXXVI). The idea of a king, however, is reminiscent both of Daniel 9.25 and, as an indirect source, the mediaeval Sibylline Books where the figure of the 'Emperor of the Last Days' appears.<sup>66</sup>

c) Each poem elaborates a description of a beast in broadly similar terms - in the one case it is the Fourth Beast of Daniel, in the other, the champion of Christendom against the Turks:

La cuarta bestia terrible  
 bramará desde su asiento  
 y al octavo mes del año  
 cuando un cometa ligero  
 saliere del aquilón,  
 temblarán todos los pueblos  
 (Rom.11.447-52)

Um grão leão se ergerá  
 e dará grãdes bramidos,  
 seus brados serão ouvidos  
 e a todos asombrara,  
 correrá e morderá,  
 e fará muy grãdes danos,  
 grãdes Reys dos arianos  
 a todos sугeiterá.  
 (Trov.LXXVII)



One notices the reference to comets in the Romance passage: these traditionally portend momentous events and occur in the Trovas also (e.g. CXLIV; also 'signaës na terra, XCVII).

d) The chronology of each prophecy evinces a certain parallelism: Bandarra's dates range between the years six and seventy (desde seis ate setenta', Trov. CI), as compared with Enríquez Gómez's nine to ninety ('al año noveno', Rom.1.394, etc. to 'en el año de noventa', Rom.1.493). Indeed, it may be the desire to imitate Bandarra's neat formula (and improve on it) which explains the use of the year 'nine' which falls outside the Jubilee period of 1640-90, discussed above (p. 83). One may compare also: 'antes de cuarenta y nueve' (Rom.1.401) with antes de cerem quarenta' (Trov.LXXXVI); 'sesenta y seis' (Rom.1.415) with 'nestas seis' (Trov.C), which according to Antonio de Vieira and others denoted the year 1666, as apparently does Enríquez's reference. Bandarra also points to the Seventy Weeks of Daniel for the fulfilment of the prophecy, which may have influenced our poet to introduce this non-Jewish element (Rom.1.503, Trov.CXXVIII)

e) Vieira made much of Bandarra's references to the Turks, interpreting 'arianos' in stanza LXXVII (see above) as 'africanos', hence Moslems or 'Turks'.<sup>67</sup> The lion of that passage was identified with the same king who conquers over the 'grifa parideira' (i.e. Turks) of stanza C. Compare:

Los que viven en el agua, (Venetians?)  
con los sitas y agarenos, (i.e. Turks)  
si no se confederaren,  
tendrán simulado feudo.  
(Rom.11.405-8)

Enríquez Gómez seems to be implying that the forces of Christianity will fall under the power of the Turks, that is to say, intentionally contradicting the words of his model.

f) In connection with the messianic Coming, the climax of the train of events each describes, there are similar evocations of, firstly, Daniel's 'time of troubles' (Dan.12.1) as in 'será el hambre / el castigo más pequeño' (Rom.11.415-6) and 'no habrá paz en todo el mundo' (Rom.1.527) cf. Trovas CXLII:

Vejo o mundo em perigo,  
vejo gentes contra gentes;  
já a terra não da sementes,  
senão favacas por trigo.

Secondly, there is the re-emergence of the Lost Tribes of Israel, referred to in Romance, lines 469-72 (though the emphasis is on the acknowledgement by other nations of the surviving tribes i.e. the Jews) and in 'Gad vinha por capitão' (Trov.CXVI) and the appearance elsewhere in the Trovas of the figures of Dan, Ruben, Simeon, Nephtali and Zabulon. Thirdly, each poem alludes to Isaiah's prophecy of the 'last days'; Bandarra referring to Isaiah 2.2, Enríquez Gómez to the next verse of the relevant passage, Isaiah 2.3:

Dizem, que nos ultimos dias,  
que aquestas couzas serão  
a vinte e quatro acharão  
este dito de Isaias.  
(Trov.CXXXIX).

Saldrá de allí la palabra  
y de Sión el concepto,  
y la Ley y el Nombre santo  
temerán todos los pueblos.  
(Rom.11.543-6)

To details these instances of parallel is, however, not to argue that in every case Bandarra's poem is Enríquez Gómez's unique and only possible source - there is after all a vast literature and tradition, both Jewish and Christian, not to mention the Bible, to which he could have had recourse. (We have already mentioned the Sibylline Books.) Nonetheless, taking the number of instances, together with those cases where one is tempted to see a direct link between the two works (c,d,e, above), it would appear that Enríquez Gómez has gone out of his way to ensure that his poem covers the same ground as his predecessor's, thus in order to emphasise the similar nature, if different purpose, of his work. One



would thus see the prophecy of the Romance al divín mártir as being primarily composed after the manner of the Trovas of Bandarra, deriving its initial impetus from that poem and modelling itself in a general sense, as well as to an extent in a particular sense, upon it. From that point, it becomes a vehicle for ideas, biblical or post-biblical Jewish, contemporary or historical, drawn from elsewhere.

As for other influences on the messianic prophecy of the Romance, reference has already been made to Antonio Vieira's messianism in the period in which Enríquez Gómez was in France (see p.65, above), when Vieira himself visited Paris and Rouen. While it is not possible to produce any direct evidence of the poet having borrowed from the ideas of Vieira since these were not committed to paper until much later (for example in História do Futuro, Lisbon, 1663), there are some aspects of Vieira's thoughts which he may have expressed at the time and which may have impressed Enríquez Gómez. In addition to the already suggested orientation away from purely political messianism towards an integration of the immediate political issues within a general and universal theological framework, there are the following:-

a) The rôle of the Dutch in Brazil: Vieira considered them a sufficient threat to advocate ceding Pernambuco to them, which may have given Enríquez the idea that the avenging power might strike Christendom from America rather than from the Orient.<sup>68</sup>

b) The defeat of the Turks: Enríquez Gómez suggests on the contrary that the Turks will emerge victorious. (see above, p.87)

c) The rôle of the Jews: Vieira granted them a high place in the New Order, while Enríquez Gómez makes them completely dominant.<sup>69</sup>

d) The concept that what has already happened can be used as proof that the rest of what is prophesied will come to pass, developed by Vieira (Cartas, p.490) finds its reflection in Enríquez's incorporation of historical events such as the Fronde into events up to 1648, after which

he indulges in pure prophecy. On the whole, however, it is safer to assume that Vieira's influence was of a level of generalities rather than specifics and as such was of secondary importance compared with that of their common inspiration in the Trovas.

One other possible source of influence is that of the Centuriés of Michel Nostradamus. By another coincidence, an edition of the work was published in Rouen in 1649, probably Enríquez Gómez's last year in that city. Nostradamus' prophecies are, on the whole far more specific than either Enríquez Gómez's or Bandarra's, giving precise dates for well-defined events. They are also more politically orientated and concerned with intra-state and inter-state relations, rather than strictly messianic events as such, although these are alluded to, in for example references to the appearance of the Anti-Christ (Centuries VIII,74;IX.66). They are also largely based on astrology rather than on biblical sources. The result is an almost total dissimilarity of style and tone between these prophecies and those of Enríquez and no instances of textual parallel. There is, however, a small number of examples where it is possible that Enríquez Gómez has obtained inspiration and perhaps ideas from the Frenchman. These are:

a) The reference to civil war and disturbances in France and elsewhere: 'D'esprit de règne munisemens descrites,/ Et seront peuples esmeus contre leur Roy' (Cent.VI.23 cf. Rom.11 401-4). However, it is more likely that Enríquez has derived his reference directly from the events of the Fronde themselves.

b) False prophets: 'Du plus profond de l'Occident d'europe,/ De pauvres gens un jeune enfant naistra: / Qui par sa langue seduira grande troupe,/ Son bruit au regne d'Orient plu croistra' (Cent.II.35) cf. Rom.11.429-40 'Dos hipócritos mancebos' etc.

c) New religions or diverse sects: 'Deux loix mettront, et horreur, puis credence' (Cent.VII.36) cf. Rom.1420: 'dos leyes con ritos nuevos'



d) The designation of states by animal signs (also present on a more limited scale in the Trovas), for example 'Terre Italique ... tremblera,/ Lyon et Coq...' (Cent.I.93). There may be a similar reference to states intended in the 'vision of harmony', Rom.1.479 ff. 'El águila con la luna,/ el leon con el cordero (et seq.)', particularly as the beasts given do not correspond exactly with those of Isaiah 11; 6-7: 'The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together... the cow and the bear ... and the lion shall eat straw like the ox'. The moon, for instance, might refer to the Turks or Mohammedans, the eagle to the Holy Roman Empire.

There are other examples of elements mentioned both by Nostradamus and Enríquez Gómez - famines, wars with Orientals, comets, destruction of temples, seas and rivers flowing with blood etc. - but most cases can be shown to derive from the Bible or the common stream of apocalyptic prophecy. Indeed it may well be that, though he may have known Nostradamus' work, the only true influence can be seen in the fourth example above, the designation of states by animals; but even here, perhaps Enríquez Gómez had his own unfathomable reasons for amending his biblical source.

To summarise this section as a whole, one finds in the Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente, on the one hand, an expression of typically Marrano religious ideas in the First Speech and to some extent in the Second Speech - rejection of Christianity but influence of its theology, assertion of Jewishness by negation of Christianity, or omission of Christian ideas, a Pentateuchal view of Judaism, essentially unaltered by knowledge gained of Rabbinic interpretations, great reliance on the Bible as a source. On the other hand, in the messianic prophecy of the Second Speech (an extraordinary example of apocalyptic writing), there is some evidence

of recourse to authentic non-biblical Jewish sources, though these are exploited in the poet's own individual manner, indicating that the prophecy does not lie within the tradition of 'scientific' Jewish messianic speculation. If one adds to this the other layer of influence, deriving from the Trovas of Bandarra, one can see that the intention has been to produce a Jewish riposte to the essentially Christian prophecies of Bandarra. But it would be a mistake to regard this as a purely literary exercice de style: the two halves of the poem, the reasoned argument with Christianity and the emotional exaltation of the messianic prophecy, fit together as the expression of Jewish faith on the part of one who had not been brought up within the bosom of normative Judaism but who has pieced together from whatever sources he can find the means to express his religious convictions.



Notes to Chapter Three.

1. I.S.Révah, 'Les Marranes', Revue des études juives, vol.118(1960),71
2. Adolfo de Castro y Rossi, Historia de los judíos de España, Cádiz, 1847, p.188; J.Amador de los Ríos, Estudios históricos etc. sobre los judíos de España, Madrid, 1848,p.593ff.
3. C.de la Barrera y Leirado, Catálogo .... del teatro antiguo español, Madrid, 1860,pp.134-42.
4. A.Valbuena Prat, La Novela picaresca española (2nd edition), Madrid 1946, pp.73 & 1680.
5. J.G.García Valdecasas, Las 'Academias morales' de Antonio Enríquez Gómez, Seville, 1970.
6. Bodleian Library, Oppenheimer Additional MS.4<sup>o</sup>,151, fols 46<sup>v</sup>- 50<sup>r</sup> (Neubauer Catalogue no.2481).
7. M.Roest. Catalogue de la collection importante des livres et manuscrits hébreux, espagnols et portugais... provenants de la Bibliothèque de feu Mr. Isaac da Costa, Amsterdam, 1861, p.105.
8. A more likely reading than Neubauer's 'da Zenedo' (see item 6, in quotation above).
9. M.Kayserling, Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judaica, Strasbourg,1890, p.49, refers to both entries as indicating two separate manuscripts.
10. See Isaac da Costa, Noble families among the Sephardic Jews, Oxford, 1936,p.115.
11. See Isaac da Costa,op.cit., loc.cit.
12. On Sabbatai Zevi, see: G.Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, London, 1948, pp.287-324; and Encyclopedia judaica, Jerusalem, 1971, vol. 14,cols.1219-54; J.Néhama, Histoire des Israélites de Salonique. Salonika, 1935, pp.92 ff.
13. Y.H.Yerushalmi, Isaac Cardoso: A study in seventeenth century Marranism and Jewish apologetics, Columbia, 1970, p.321-36
14. For example, l.510 refers to '[un] hombre fiero' who institutes 'Ley nueva de aquellos siglos'.

15. See below, sections ii-iii, where it is argued that the poem predates this manuscript and was written by Enríquez Gómez.
16. See below, Part IIA, i-ii, for detailed textual study of this manuscript.
17. Catalogue no. 48 A23: 'Silva de diferentes discursos y argumentos, sobre varios subgetos respondidos por el muy docto H.H.Yshac Nahar y el muy erudito H.H.Saul Levy Morte[r]a y del Sapientisimo H.H. M.R.D. Aguilar como del Docto Yshac Orobio de Cas[tr]o y otros Autores'. The Romance is item no.13 and is entitled: 'Romance que se hizo a Bien/ Abenturado Juda Creiente que / fue quemado Biuo por la Vnidad / de Dios, y obseruante de la Ley / de Mosseh dada por Dios a / Israel, siendo de Rasa de gentil, siendo preso por el Tirano / tribunal de la Inquisision.'
18. Cod.55 TT (5), see C.Bernheimer, Catalogue des manuscrits et livres rares hebraïques de la Bibliothèque du Talmud Tora de Livourne, Livorno, 1914, p.85.
19. C.Roth, 'Le Chant du cygne de Don Lope de Vera', R.E.J. vol.97(1934), 97-113.
20. Bernheimer's transcription (see above, note 18) this differs slightly from Roth's version (op.cit. p.105) but appears to be closer to the original.
21. Roth's text is 240 lines in length and corresponds to ll.55-262 of the Bodley MS., with the omission of ll.135-8 & ll.199-203; ll.179-82 are replaced by new lines and ll.83-90 are placed after Roth's line 150. Its first stanza reads:
 

Lea, padre consultor,  
 con atension estos versos  
 que ostenta la Ley que siguo  
 y la verdad de su Dueño.
22. This is the conclusion which emerges from correspondance with the Librarian of the Biblioteca Labronica 'F.D.Guerrazzi', Livorno, who consulted the Senior Rabbi of the Livorno Jewish Community, Professor Guiseppe Laras, on the author's behalf.



23. Evidently not Roth himself; he thanks (op.cit.p.105) G.Pardo Roques of Pisa for having obtained him a transcript of the poem.
24. Isaac Cardoso refers to Lope de Vera in his Excelencias de los hebreos, Amsterdam, 1679, pp.363-4. Barrios' references (see below note 25, 26) date from 1683. On the other hand, Abraham Cardoso was almost alone in his continuing support of Sabbatai Zevi up to his death in 1706.
25. Amsterdam, 1683, p.57.
26. Amsterdam, 1683, pp.44-5 (Both Memorial and Relación appear in Triumpho del Gobierno Popular y de Antigüedad Holandesa)
27. M.Kayserling, Sephardim. Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien, Leipzig, 1859, p.255, quotes the following lines from Pina's poem:
 

Quien oye que no se assombre  
 Tu fe, tu vida y tu muerte,  
 Quando mas flaco mas fuerte,  
 Quando mas niño mas hombre

Mudas tu ley y tu nombre,  
 Por ley sancta y nombre sancto,  
 Y enmudecido el espanto(.)  
 El odio muerde sa [sic] lengua  
 Viendo en sa [sic] fe tanta mengua  
 Viendo en tu ley zelo tanto.
28. See discussion below, Chapter Four, p.
29. Valdecasas, op.cit., p.85 ff. analyses the use of the image of Babel and the 'whore of Babylon', denoting the Inquisition, as seen in Academias morales.
30. On the use of biblical sources, see below, Chapter Four, p. 137 ff.
31. Discussed fully, below, p 224-6
32. See K.R.Scholberg, La poesía religiosa de Miguel de Barrios, Ohio State University, 1963, p.21. All quotations below are from this edition of Barrios' works.
33. Scholberg (ibid., pp.3-42) portrays the poet as impoverished during much of his life and constantly dedicating laudatory poems to people in high places in the hope of reward: such a man would not have

overlooked an opportunity to publicize his works.

34. If Enríquez is accepted as the author, obviously the Sabbatian and Christian year of 1666 is to be excluded.
35. Nantes, 1644; see J. Lucio de Azevedo, História de António Vieira, Lisbon, 1918, vol.1, p.126.
36. See Azevedo, op.cit., vol.1, pp.98-126.
37. See R. Cantel, Prophétisme et Messianisme dans l'oeuvre d'Antonio Vieira, Paris, 1960, pp.43-5 & 98.
38. REJ. 97, (1934), 97-105: Roth draws on various sources, both historical and literary (e.g. Cardoso's account; see note 24 above)
39. See H.C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, New York, 1906, vol.3, Bk.8, pp.295-6.
40. In addition to those already referred to (notes 24 and 25) see Corona de la Ley, p.8 (in Triunfo del Gobierno Popular, Amsterdam, 1683) and Contra la verdad no hay fuerza, ed.cit. (note 30), ll.3107-3116.
41. One copy is to be found in British Museum, Oriental MS.8698, pp.298-9; see L.D. Barnett, 'Two documents of the Inquisition', Jewish Quarterly Review, N.S.vol.15 (1924), 213-39.
42. Egerton MS. 2058, fols. 201<sup>r</sup>-203<sup>v</sup>, for summary in French, see: Appendix to Roth, REJ. 97, 112-3.
43. See J. Caro Baroja, Los Judíos en la España Moderna y Contemporánea, Madrid, 1961-2, vol.1.p.386.
44. See Barnett, op.cit., p.214, who includes the information that such documents were issued in manuscript (cf. Eg. 2058), not in print.
45. While it is not possible to demonstrate that Enríquez Gómez knew the Egerton MS. directly, the development of the argument of the First Speech of the Romance does seem to reflect this document: unity of God (l.131 & 151) - denial of Trinity (ll.151 - 82) - rejection of veneration of images (ll.183-210) cf. Eg.2058, fol.202<sup>r</sup>: '[dijo que] Dios era solo uno y que esta [adoración] hera al adonay de los hebreos, sin comunicacion de las dos Divinas personas, negando toda la Unidad de Christo, Virginidad de su Madre, negando la adoración de las ymages..



46. Isaac Cardoso (op.cit., p.92) proposed circumcision as the means of expunging original sin.
47. According to Yerushalmi (op.cit., p.402), Cardoso reduces Judaism to the principle of 'belief in' the Law and its saving power, which is a concept not found elsewhere in Jewish commentaries (e.g. Maimonides) and is essentially 'Marrano'.
48. G.Génébrard, Chronographiae libri quatuor ... subijuncti sunt libri Hebraeorum chronologici, Lyon, 1609. Under separate title-page, Chronologia Hebraeorum, Lyon, 1608 appear: Seder Olam rabba and Seder olam zuta; part of the Ibn.Daud's Sefer ha-Qabbalah; Eldad ha-Dani's account of the Lost Tribes; chapters 11-12 of 'Hilkot Melachim' from Maimonides' Mishneh Torah; Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Sanhedrin, fols 97a-b, etc. Under title-page Symbolum Fidei Iudaeorum, Lyon, 1608, (continuing pagination of preceding) appear: Maimonides' analysis of the Thirteen principles of Faith (from his commentary to the Mishnah); various prayers from the liturgy appearing in the Roman Machzor; Maimonides' enumeration of the 613 mitzvot. See Yerushalmi, op.cit., p.289 ff. (Appended works hereinafter designated 'Gén')
49. 'Item non est unum, prout unum mixtum com postiumque, quod dispersitur in unitates plurimas, sed nec veluti corpus simplex, quod unum quidem extat numero, sed tamen recipit intentionem & remissionem, admittitque divisionem in infinitum' (Art.2) cf. Romance, 1.151 'La unidad siendo distinta etc.' especially (1.160-1) 'y lo propio es para mí / dividirla en tres que en ciento'.
50. The Fourth Beast is identified in Rabbin tradition with Rome, not Babylon, but for Enríquez Gómez 'Babel' signifies often Rome/Catholicism, thus there is no divergence here.
51. The first is reported by Cornelius a Lapide, Commentaria in quatuor Prophetas Maiores, Paris, 1622, pp.92-3. Ishac Orobio de Castro suggests it refers to Agrippa in Tratado en que se explica la prophesia de las 70 semanas de Daniel, (Amst.?), 1675 (Bodleian Library, Neubauer Catalogue 2475, fol.3<sup>r</sup>.)

52. Comparison of G  n  brard's translation of this Tractate with the Soncino English translation, The Babylonian Talmud, ed. I. Epstein, London, 1935, Sanhedrin, vol.2, pp.654-61, reveals that it is remarkably accurate and impartial.
53. Support for calculation by Jubilees may also come from the Zohar and its calculation of the Year of Advent (1648) on the basis of gematria of ם״י (this) in Leviticus 25.13: 'In this year of Jubilee'. See A.H.Silver, A History of messianic speculation in Israel (revised ed.), Boston, 1959, p.92.
54. For example, Rashi, see Silver, op.cit.p.66.
55. See F.Secret, Les Kabbalistes Ch  tiens de la Renaissance, Paris, 1964, p.11.
56. Le  n Hebreo, Los Di  logos de amor (trans. Juan Costa), Francesco Sansovino, Venice, 1568. Appendix (pp.116-27): 'Opiniones Sacadas de los mas aut  nticos y antiguos filosofos que sobre la alma escrvi  ron [sic] y sus definiciones....por el Doctor Aron Afia.'
57. All English quotations from the Book of Daniel are from the Soncino edition, London, 1951, with commentary by J.J.Slotki. Otherwise, throughout this study, the Authorized Version is used.
58. This interpretation depends on taking 'tres' with 'tiempos' rather than with 'a  os' to give  $7 + 3$  'times' = so many years. If this appears to stretch grammar rather far, compare Vieira's interpretation of Bandarra's phrase 'treinta e dos anhos e meio' as  $30 \times 2 + 1$  i.e. 61; see J.L  cio de Azevedo, Cartas do Padre Ant  nio Vieira, Coimbra, 1925, vol.3, p.541.
59. Silver, op.cit. passim, gives many examples of these various types of calculation, of which ' $3 \frac{1}{2}$  times' appears most popular.
60. Enr  quez's approach is literary rather than mathematical; possibly he chose the numbers seven and three on account of some Kabbalistic notion.
61. Text reads 'setenta y seis' but this does not fit in with the evident chronological order.



62. One assumes that the poet in common with most other messianic speculators is most interested in his own period and that these dates refer to the 17th century.
63. Silver, op.cit., p.92.
64. J.Lúcio de Azevedo, A Evolução do Sebastianismo, Lisbon, 1947, p.35
65. All quotations from the Trovas de Bandarra, Nova edição, Barcelona (= London) 1809, edition. The 1644, Nantes, and nearest reproduction the 1866, Oporto, editions have proved untraceable.
66. N.Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium, London, 1957, p.31ff.
67. Cartas, ed. cit. pp.497 and 503.
68. See J.Lúcio de Azevedo, História de Antonio Vieira, p.108-10
69. See: Cantel, op.cit., pp.138-40.

## Chapter Four: The religious views of Antonio Enríquez Gómez.

At this point it is necessary to look further at Antonio Enríquez Gómez's religious beliefs and attitudes and examine the evidence provided by his background and literary production other than the Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente. In doing so one may attempt to answer the question of to what extent the poet was truly a Marrano, that is to say an active crypto-Jew, practising a form of Judaism surviving among descendents of converts to Christianity, and to what extent he was a passive individual reacting to his birth and external circumstances at a given moment in time.

### i) The background:

The poet's family: Enríquez Gómez's paternal grandfather, Diego de Mora, was a member of the crypto-Jewish group which thrived in secret at Quintanar de la Orden<sup>1</sup> but was arrested by the Inquisition in about 1588. The account given by Julio Caro Baroja of the voluntary depositions made by two members of the group throws revealing light on both the rôle of Diego de Mora within the community and the level of his Jewish knowledge. According to one of these, Juan López de Armenia (30 August, 1590),<sup>2</sup> Mora had come to instruct them in 'la ley mosaica', which in this case meant the keeping of the Sabbath, the New Moon (Rosh Hodesh) and the three Pilgrim Festivals (Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles), abstaining from pork, koshering of meat, ritual purification and ablution, and lighting candles on a Friday night. López himself was being groomed to act as 'rabbi' to the group and he recited prayers in Spanish which he had learned from Mora and attended at ritual slaughter on occasions. The impression one gains from this is of a fairly orthodox form of Judaism, with less evidence of debased rituals found in other accounts, for instance, the use of images of Moses by the Homem group early in the following century,<sup>3</sup> or the reference by one Diego Enríquez in 1581 to lighting



candles on a Saturday (rather than on a Friday night).<sup>4</sup> In another deposition, Juan del Campo (August, 1590) states that he also was instructed by Diego de Mora and had observed 'la pascua de las Cabañuelas' (i.e. Tabernacles) y la del Cordero (i.e. Passover).<sup>5</sup> and had participated in ritual slaughter. It is apparent that Diego de Mora, being well-versed in Jewish practices, acted as a teacher or guide to the community.

In view of this it would be surprising if Antonio Enríquez Gómez's father, Diego Enríquez Villanueva or de Mora, had not been similarly educated in Judaism like the two witnesses mentioned. No published evidence exists relating to the father such as we have seen for the grandfather, but I.S. Révah, whose study of Inquisitional documents relating to the family was extensive and was to be incorporated before his death in 1973 in a full biography of Enríquez Gómez, expressed the opinion that Diego Enríquez Villanueva 'restait fidele a la foi crypto-juive, ce qui lui valut d'être arrêté et condamné par l'Inquisition de Cuenca...'<sup>6</sup> Although his first marriage to an Old Christian, Isabel Gómez, might indicate a slackening of Jewish identification, as a widower in France he took as his second wife a woman of New Christian stock, whom moreover he summoned from the Jewish community of Amsterdam. By this act he would seem to have been asserting his Judaism.

The Jewishness of Enríquez Gómez's uncle, Antonio Enríquez de Mora, is easier to confirm. While in Bordeaux he was one of the leading members of the New Christian community and helped draw up the list of 'Portuguese' required by the authorities during the Franco-Spanish War (1636).<sup>7</sup> This in itself indicates nothing of his actual beliefs, but a report, dated 1636, by Juan Bautista de Villadiego, the inquisitor sent to investigate the crypto-Jews of Rouen in the crisis of 1630-33, makes a reference to the accusation levelled by a certain María de Matos 'portuguesa viuda muy católica, y zelosa' against Antonio Enríquez de Mora and others. The report continues: 'se les hizo processo, y prouió con gran número de

testigos, y con los mismos libros Iudaycos en que rezauan, que eran judayzantes, obseruantes de la ley de Moysen'.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, shortly afterwards he left for Livorno in Italy to end his days as a member of the Jewish community there.<sup>9</sup> He was certainly there by 2 March, 1644, according to a procuration of that date signed by Antonio Enríquez Gómez granting power of attorney to 'le sr Anthoine henriques de Mora, M[ar]chand V[iva]nt a Lygforne pais d'Italye'.<sup>10</sup> but since Enríquez Gómez and his cousin Francisco Luis Enríquez paid taxes in 1641 in their own name, it is probable that he, the head of the family in Bordeaux, had already left by this earlier date.

Such were the antecedents of Antonio Enríquez Gómez whom one can identify as committed to the Jewish idea. One may add too the evidence of Enríquez Gómez's half brother, Esteban Enríquez, that he had been instructed in the Law of Moses by Leonor Enríquez, Antonio's daughter.<sup>11</sup> This suggests that not only did Antonio Enríquez Gómez himself grow up amongst those by whom Judaism was highly prized, but that he passed on his education to his own children.<sup>12</sup>

Madrid: In addition to what he may have learned from his family, Enríquez Gómez had good opportunity to acquire knowledge of and to practise Judaism of a kind within Spain. J. Caro Baroja, in his study of Jews and New Christians in the period in question,<sup>13</sup> has performed a useful service in putting into perspective earlier views of the absolute repressiveness of the Inquisition and showing up its inefficiencies which allowed individuals to live for years in their faith unmolested. But it would be wrong to conclude from this that one might live as authentically Jewish a life and in as much safety in Madrid as in Bordeaux or even Amsterdam. Such a conclusion would be unwarranted. With this reservation in mind, the picture of the life of the crypto-Jew in this period which emerges from Caro Baroja's work is as follows:-



While there was a general decline in the level of practice and knowledge among judaising New Christians in the course of the sixteenth century, the unification of Spain and Portugal in 1580 brought New Christians in Spain into contact with Portuguese New Christians whose Jewishness was strong owing to the fact that there orthodox Jews had been forced to convert to Christianity, whereas in Spain it had been the weaker brethren who had submitted to it. After 1580, comings and goings between the two countries increased with a consequent increase in knowledge passing between people. At the same time, there was a recrudescence of activity on the part of the Inquisition which stiffened resolve and kept alive the sense of persecution and identity. By the early part of the seventeenth century, other factors came into play to check the degeneration of belief and ritual: the existence of free and thriving Jewish communities abroad, particularly in Amsterdam and the close family ties between people there and those left behind in Spain (frequently prayers were said for them in synagogues abroad); the traffic of judaising merchants between Spain and France (particularly Peyrehorade and Bayonne); the visits of Jews from outside to Spain and Portugal, often to circumcise children. All these factors explain how it was possible that under Phillip III and IV, there could exist in Madrid, Séville and Granada something of the nature of secret synagogues and clandestine services could be held there.

It was also possible at the time when Enríquez Gómez was in Madrid (from 1624 onwards) for such as Manasseh ben Israel and Isaac Cardoso to acquire the degree of authentic Jewish knowledge in order to within a very short space of time become integrated within their new communities and attain the position of sage or rabbi.<sup>14</sup> Much of course of what they learned was acquired after they left Spain, but there is little doubt that the foundations of their knowledge had been laid before; for example, Cardoso already in his De febris Syncopali of 1639 is seen quoting the Aphorisms of Maimonides.

Remembering that Isaac Cardoso was like Antonio Enríquez Gómez a member of the group which frequented the house of Bartolomé Febos (see Chapter One, p.4) it is of interest with respect of our poet to know how Cardoso may have acquired his Jewish education. Y.H.Yerushalmi in his life Isaac Cardoso<sup>15</sup> enumerates the sources from which it was possible to obtain Jewish knowledge beyond the Bible and including the whole range of post-biblical thought: a) Jewish literature of the Hellenistic period - the Apocrypha, writings of Philo, Josephus (available in Spanish and Latin) b) Targum (available both in Aramaic and Latin in the Complutensian and Regina polyglot Bibles) c) Patristic Literature d) ramified anti-Jewish literature (often quoting Rabbinic and other sources) e) works by Catholic Hebraists, especially Spanish f) general works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on historical, theological, philosophical and scientific matters, not primarily concerned with Judaism but containing remarks on Jewish ritual etc. and quotations from Rabbinic and Mediaeval Jewish literature. Yerushalmi also suggests that authentic post-biblical literature was available (more or less intact) in Latin, such as the Chronographia of Gênébrard already mentioned in connection with the Romance (see Chapter Three). In addition to these sources there were many works written in Spanish by Jewish polemicists abroad, such as Isaac Orobio de Castro and Manasseh ben Israel who considered it a duty to try to educate or re-educate not only those Marranos who had left Spain, but those that remained behind: copies of Manasseh ben Israel's Conciliador (1632) were sent there for this purpose.<sup>16</sup>

All this then was available to Cardoso, but also to any Marrano who was determined upon self-education in Judaism. While Cardoso as a university-educated man, with Latin at his fingertips and a great variety and number of sources available to him, Antonio Enríquez Gómez, self-educated as he was, would nonetheless be in a position to acquire quite a high level of Jewish knowledge of an authentic nature. That he did to some extent do so has been seen already in our study of the Romance.



France: If Enríquez Gómez did not have the advantages of formal education, he did have one advantage that others did not: as a merchant he made several trips to France,<sup>17</sup> where he was able to make contact with those, such as his father and uncle, who lived in a freer atmosphere than in Spain. Later on, when he left Spain in self-exile, he is known to have lived first in the South-west of France, at Peyrehorade and Bordeaux, then later at Rouen, all towns where there were thriving crypto-Jewish communities.

The situation in France<sup>18</sup> differed significantly from that prevailing in Spain: while Judaism was not permitted officially (the Jews had been expelled in 1394), it was tolerated under the guise of Christianity.

In Caro Baroja's words:

los judios vivieron dentro de un estatuto peculiar, según el cual no se reconocía oficialmente su verdadera fe, aunque en privado tuvieron sus autoridades rabínicas etc.<sup>19</sup>

The attitude of the French authorities appears to have been guided by a sense of realism which was sadly lacking in their Spanish counterparts, as the reaction of Richelieu to the schism which rent the 'Portuguese' community of Rouen in 1630-33 bears witness: he fined the proven judaisers but allowed them to remain in Rouen to trade and help the continuing prosperity of that city. Moreover, despite the periodic protests of local traders in Bordeaux and Rouen (for example, in Rouen in 1618 to Louis XIII), they continued to be allowed to reside in those cities, the dubiousness of their religious allegiance being no bar.

These communities had many of the features of orthodox Jewish life: there were no synagogues as such, but daily prayers were said in private houses and the festivals kept. They had their own burial grounds in Bayonne and Bordeaux, achieved by belonging to one particular church and having the connivance of the curé concerned. This was also probably the case with the 'chapelle espagnole' at St. Etienne de Tonneliers and most certainly the case with the 'petit chapitre' of the Franciscan monastery

at Rouen.<sup>20</sup> Circumcision was also carried out, as in the case of Diego Rodríguez Cardoso in 1660. As for the prayers that were recited, Caro Baroja gives several examples from Inquisitional documents of the middle and second half of the seventeenth century where there is a remarkable similarity between the prayers recorded and those found in the vernacular Jewish liturgy. For example, the evidence of Diego Nuñez Silva (1661) contains versions of the Amidah and Shemah prayers more or less as they appear in the Ferrara Prayer-books of 1553 (or later editions from Venice or Amsterdam) and the so-called 'oración de la hermosura', given by Diego Rodríguez Piñero (1657) and learned by him in Bayonne, according to his statement corresponds to Psalms 90:17 and 91:1-2 & 9-16, both of which feature in the liturgy.<sup>21</sup> The language in each case is the archaic, hebraicised language of those Jewish Prayer-books, not that of the Cassiodoro de la Reyna or Cipriano de Valera translations of the Bible, the other available vernacular sources. To quote one of these examples, the Shemah of Nuñez Silva, the two versions are as follows:

<u>Prayer -book</u>	<u>Silva version</u>
Semah Israel.A.Elohenu.A.Ehad	Senia Israel Adonai el loenu Adonai lavant
Baruch Sem Kebod.Malchuto Leholam Vahed	varu seuquebo Malcutuo leolan vahel
Y amaras a .A. tu dio con todo tu coraçon y con todo tu alma y con todo tu aver. Y seran las palabras estas que yo te encomendan oy sobre coraçon, y repetirlashas a tus hijos y hablaras en ellas en tu estar en tu casa en tu andar por carrera, en tu echar y en tu levantar, y atarlashas por señal sobre tu mano	y amaras Adonai tu Dio [... ...] en tu estar en tu casa, en la carrera en su echar, en tu lebantar, y atarlasas por señal en tu mano
y seran por Thephilim entre tus ojos	y seran por tafali en tu[sic]tus ojos
y escrevirlashas sobre umbrales de tu casa y en tus puertas... <sup>22</sup>	y escriuirlasas sobre unbrales de tu casa y en tus puertas...

Such differences as exist can be put down to memory failure and ignorance of Hebrew (e.g. 'Senia' for 'Semah') on the part of the witness.



It is evident from this that Jewish prayer-books in the vernacular were available to Marranos in France, at least in the later period of the second half of the century, indeed many of the witnesses quoted by Caro Baroja actually refer to having seen or used such prayer-books (e.g. Diego Nuñez Silva: 'tomó cada uno un libro de reça'). As to the situation earlier in the century, in the 30's and 40's when Enríquez Gómez was in France, one can point to the details of the case of Diego Rodríguez Cardoso, in whose trial Diego Nuñez Siva (see above) was a witness: the first accusations against him, which reveal the situation of judaising merchants living in Bayonne as Jews and visiting Spain on business, date from 1641.<sup>23</sup> The suggestion from this is that the kind of Jewish communities described above already existed at this period. According to Cecil Roth's account of Marrano life in Rouen in the 1620's and '30's, Juan Pinto Delgado and his circle lived virtually as open and orthodox Jews, knowing Hebrew, practising all the rites and maintaining contact with Jews in Amsterdam and the Low Countries.<sup>24</sup> In all probability they were also in possession of works of Jewish liturgy in Spanish.

That these prayer books were in existence and available at this time is certain: the Siddur or book of Daily Prayers printed in Ferrara dates from 1552 and the Machzor for the New Year and Yom Kippur of the same provenance from 1553.<sup>25</sup> Later prayer-books are essentially reprints of these editions with minor emendations to orthography etc. but preserving almost untouched the archaic, hebraicised, but revered language of the Jewish vernacular tradition which the Ferrara editions had brought into print.<sup>26</sup> Of the later editions, the next in date is the Maguntia Orden de Ros Hasanah y Kipur of 1584 and the earliest Amsterdam edition of the same prayer-book dates from 1612 or possibly 1604.<sup>27</sup> From then on there were frequent editions and re-editions of all types of liturgy during the course of the first half of the seventeenth century and beyond.<sup>28</sup> But even before Amsterdam rose in importance as a haven for Jews and a centre for the dissemination of Jewish works (i.e. after 1648), Livorno and Venice

fulfilled the same function, printing and distributing Bibles, prayer-books and the like, for the communities of the Orient but also no doubt for the crypto-Jewish communities of the West (for example, see the Venice Machzor of 1623). Thus, while it is true that the correlation between the prayers recalled in trial evidence and the prayer-books, according to the evidence given by Caro Baroja, is weakest at the period in question and strongest in the 1580's and 1660's<sup>29</sup> there seems no reason to doubt that these prayer-books were there to be used as sources of Jewish knowledge, particularly by one such as Antonio Enríquez Gómez who had the motivation towards self-education.

One small piece of evidence that this situation was a reality and not simply potential is provided by the report of Inquisition investigator, Juan Baptista de Villadiego, concerning the crypto-Jews in France (1636), where the reference to accusations and investigations against Antonio Enríquez de Mora for judaising (quoted above p.101) states that proof was provided by large numbers of witnesses but also 'con los mismos libros Iudaycos en que rezauan.'<sup>30</sup> Not only does this suggest the possession and use of prayer-books by judaisers in Bordeaux at a relatively early period - and the situation would have been much the same in Rouen - but it provides a connection between such possession and use and our poet through the person of his uncle.

Finally, the milieu in which Enríquez Gómez moved while he was in France also leads one to suggest that the opportunity for acquiring Jewish knowledge was there. Outside his family, his best friend, Manuel Fernandes Vilareal, is known to have been a judaiser, according to the evidence of his trial in 1649.<sup>31</sup> There is reference there to an accusation that he went to Rouen to celebrate Passover and while the accusation was maliciously motivated, there may be truth in it. Vilareal's wife and daughter were in Rouen,<sup>32</sup> so it would be only natural that he should go there to celebrate the festivals. Moreover, a document in the Archives Départementales at



Rouen, dated 28 June, 1649,<sup>33</sup> suggests that he also had a brother (or close cousin) there, by the name of Luis Fernandes Vilareal; not only this, but the document, a marriage contract, is signed by witnesses who include known judaisers involved in the 'scandal' of 1630: Antonio Rodríguez Lamego and Diego Diaz Nuñez (= Diego Nuñez, cousin of Bartolomé Febos?). Another witness is Antonio Rodríguez de Morais, whom Vilareal sent to retrieve the manuscript of Política angélica from the printer in 1647 prior to alerting the Marquiz of Niza to its contents (see Chapter 2, p. 23; also Chapter 1, note 25). Guimaraes<sup>34</sup> states Vilareal also knew 'um filho de Antonio de Caceres' in connection with business: Antonio de Caceres is another of the leading names on the list of judaising New Christians involved in the 1630 affair,<sup>35</sup> and he was buried in the Chapel of the Franciscans in Rouen, where many known judaisers or their relatives are buried.<sup>36</sup> Since Antonio Enríquez Gómez also lived in Rouen and was engaged in commerce there, it is perhaps not too much to suppose that he too knew these people and joined in their following of Jewish rites and the celebration of festivals.

Two other known 'Jewish' figures however can be positively linked with Enríquez Gómez. The first is Manuel Diaz Sanchez, whom the poet thanks in his Preface to La culpa del primer peregrino (Rouen, 1644) for his moral inspiration and (it is implied) practical help in passing on the biblical knowledge and understanding which had enabled him to write the last part of the poem, 'La Verdadera Philosophia Moral'. He also refers to him as 'mi mejor amigo'. Manuel Diaz Sanches was amongst the judaising faction in the schism already alluded to and his tombstone in the 'chapitre du couvent des religieux Cordeliers' is without any of the usual christological reference found in such circumstances which together suggest his Jewish leaning.<sup>37</sup> Since he died in 1643 (13 August), at about the period when the poet moved from Bordeaux to Rouen, Enríquez Gómez cannot have known him long (unless they had met in Bordeaux), nonetheless, he seems to have known him sufficiently well to engage in serious dialogue

concerning Man's relationship with God and answers afforded him by religion, as the poem resulting from it bears witness.

The second was Agustino Coronel Chacón, who wrote a laudatory sonnet for Enríquez's Siglo pitagórico (Rouen, 1644). According to Cecil Roth, he left Rouen for London at some point following the crisis of 1630-33, was known there as 'the little jue'. He became a Royalist agent and later the first Anglo-Jewish knight.<sup>38</sup>

Taking all these factors in Enríquez Gómez's background into account - his family, his friends in Spain and in France, the sources available etc. - it appears that he was in a position to acquire knowledge of Judaism, its theology and its rites, and to practise it in the manner of other Marranos, at perhaps quite a high level of orthodoxy if the prayer-books are taken into account. The balance of probabilities suggests that this did not remain merely a theoretical possibility but passed into realisation.

## ii) Evidence in the poetry of Enríquez Gómez

Theological views: Angel Valbuena Prat's view of Enríquez Gómez's Catholic orthodoxy in religion is expressed in his study, La Novela Picaresca<sup>39</sup> as follows:

Aunque hay una gran cantidad de motivos, en toda su obra, del Antiguo Testamento, no he encontrado elementos claramente heterodoxos en su producción, aunque esto pudiera ser afecto de cautela. (p.73)

and

En sus obras no hay - en todo lo que recuerdo - ninguna proposición abiertamente en contra del dogma católico, y, en cambio, muchos poemas o comedias no se diferencian en los sentimientos y doctrina de lo usual en nuestras cristianos autores del siglo XVII. (p.1610)



García Valdecasas, in his study of the Academias morales, concurs and asserts that Enríquez Gómez's protestations of Christian orthodoxy in La Política angélica should be taken at face value, refuting Révah's argument that this subterfuge (R.E.J. 121, 1962). (On the other hand, he spends much effort of his own revealing the hidden truth behind the façade of Enríquez Gómez's poetry.)

One is bound broadly to agree with these views of the apparent conformism of Antonio Enríquez Gómez in religious matters, but it is clear that neither Valbuena Prat nor Valdecasas knew of the Romance al divín mártir, since neither of them refers to it nor apparently takes it into account. As has been shown, the Romance, bears the definite mark of Jewish sympathy on the part of the author; not only that but it openly attacks the cardinal tenets of the Christian faith, while expressing beliefs which are of a Jewish kind, despite the imprinting of Christianity upon them. In the absence of this poem and the evidence it provides, one would be inclined to agree with these two critics, or at least to allow that there is an element of doubt. However, within the existence of the Romance and its authorship attributable, in our view, to Antonio Enríquez Gómez, it is justifiable to question the façade of orthodoxy, and to look again at the other works of the poet and subject them to interpretive analysis. One may then find in the nuances of phrase and expression, in the balance of content and omission, that matters are not as they would at first sight appear.

A study of the theological ideas which are expressed in Enríquez Gómez's poems needs to look in particular at La culpa del primer peregrino, the most theological of his poems, indeed the only one which sets out to treat a specifically theological subject, the 'fall' of Adam and its consequences.<sup>40</sup> Many of the points made below, however, will be common to other works and reference will be made to both the poetic and prose parts of El Siglo pitagórico. La culpa begins with a description of

Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden and goes on to depict the temptation of Eve and Adam's sin, as a consequence of which Adam becomes 'el Peregrino' or Man in his 'fallen' state and enters a world full of corruption and vice, to which he is introduced by the figure of El Tiempo. There then follows four dialogues between El Peregrino and La Sabiduría divina, which are concluded by a passage setting out the true path which Man should follow, entitled 'La Verdadera Filosofía Moral'.

The dialogues form the central theological core of the poem and present a confrontation between Man, beset by doubts and anguish about his situation in the world and his relationship with God, and Divine Wisdom or the spirit of Faith and Religious Truth. For Man, life is pointless, since he is condemned to die and there seems no justice in a world in which some are rich and enjoy life and others are poor and suffering (Diálogo primero). Moreover, he sees no prospect of peace even after death, since he will be resurrected and more than once, if the idea that the universe will go through cycles of destruction and regeneration is correct (cf. León Hebreo) (Diálogo segundo). Man is also burdened by his supposed Free-will, through the exercise of which he has lost Paradise and continues to suffer for, as he succumbs to the temptations of the Devil, who like the stars rules over his destiny (Diál. 2º). Predestination is also a problem: if he is predestined, he is not guilty and is thus unfairly punished (Diálogo tercero). In the end, he comes to accept, if unwillingly, Divine Wisdom's arguments and repent of his ways, after some final doubts about the capacity of the soul to rise to heaven and about God's justice after death (particularly the idea of suffering eternal punishment for sins committed within a circumscribed finite life-span) (Diálogo cuarto).

To these arguments, Wisdom replies in terms which, like the problems posed, are nothing if not conventional from the point of view of Christian theology. Death leads on to eternal life and Man must prepare



for it by a virtuous life (Diál. 1<sup>o</sup>). He alone is responsible for his actions, not the Devil nor Fate, since he is possessed of Free-will, through the good use of which he may reach heaven. This must be his aim: 'Vive para morir con buen exemplo;/ muere para vivir...' (Culpa.p.86:1) (Diálogo 2<sup>o</sup>). The Resurrection of the Dead to judgement, he says, is incontrovertible and must be accepted as such; on the other hand, he rejects the idea of successive cycles of the universe as contrary to Genesis . As for predestination, God foresees but does force Man in any direction - again he must use his Free-will to act virtuously in the hope of heavenly reward, which is sure. God, indeed, will put right the inequalities of this world in after-life (Diálogo 3<sup>o</sup>). Finally, of the ability of the soul to rise to heaven there is no doubt, nor too of the equity of God's justice after death: as God is eternal so must be the punishment for sin. Moreover, the salvation Man may gain is eternal also. He then goes on to examine, in an appendix to the last dialogue, the nature of the soul (a recasting in verse of Aron Afia's discussion of the topic appended to León Hebreo's Diálogos de Amor).<sup>41</sup>

These arguments bear clearly the stamp of Patristic theology; one notes, for example, the discussion concerned with Free-will and predestination or such incidental notions as the universe being composed of 'three worlds'. There are numerous references in the marginal notes to Saint Thomas Aquinas, Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine and so on, some of which are not merely 'cosmetic' but indicate the use of these sources in the text, if at second hand.<sup>42</sup> The terminology employed contains references to 'forma', 'esencia', 'el húmedo radical' etc., all echoing the Thomasine language of Mediaeval and Post-Mediaeval disputation. Further, Enríquez Gómez appears to accept many elements of Christian dogma without question: the poem is largely based on the concept of original sin: the 'fall' of Adam is accompanied by a cataclysmic eruption which sets loose all the sins and vices of the world (p.29:27-31.20). In Sansón Nazareno, too, the interrelation between Adam's sin and the sins of Man

in general is accepted, as can be seen from the use of adjectives such as 'original' and 'serpentino' with reference to love. There is no doubt either in La culpa that the ethical perspective is one which is directed towards the next world rather than this, particularly in the notion that one should suffer willingly and submit to one's fate in the hope of eternal reward:

Sufrir por merecer la verdadera [vida]  
Es triunfar de la muerte con la vida,  
No acauarse la vida que se espera. (Culpa, 68.13)

Other unquestioned aspects of Christian thought or ideas commonly propagated by Christian sources, include the existence of the Devil (only one's attitude towards him being in dispute), the propensity of Man to 'appetite' (shown as the cause of Eve's succumbing to the serpent's temptation) and the concept of Man as capable of descending to the level of the beasts or rising to the heights of the angels.

At first sight then we would seem to be dealing with a conventional Christian argument. There is no evidence to support a possible thesis that these dialogues are a confrontation between scepticism and Christianity or between Judaism and Christianity, or that Christianity itself is the target of the attack here. Undoubtedly there is a dramatic tension between the anguish, poetically and movingly expressed by the El Peregrino and the cold, unfeeling and almost offensively bland responses of La Sabiduría, but that is not the same thing at all. Rather, as we have said, it is the conflict between doubting, angst-ridden Man and religion in general, which perforce finds its expression in Christian terms, for the following two reasons: firstly, one would not expect to be allowed to publish in France an argument which was openly either atheistic or Jewish and, secondly, it is only natural to express familiar arguments in terms with which both the author and his readers were conversant. There is at once an external constraint which would be consciously perceived and an internal subconscious impulse to conform with the common cultural 'language' of the surrounding society.



There is another, obvious, point to make, that the 'Diálogos', as well as 'La Verdadera Filosofía Moral', find their inspiration largely in the common source of the Bible, particularly the Book of Job and Wisdom Literature. The Peregrino is Job, arguing with his 'comforters' on the lot of Man and the wisdom of God; he is also Kohelet, the 'preacher', surveying the vanity of the world and observing the fruitlessness of life which ends 'in the grave, wither thou goest' (Eccles.9:10). Like Kohelet, too, he is forced to the conclusion that the only solution ultimately is to 'fear God and keep his commandments.... for God shall bring every work to judgement' (Eccles.12:13-14). While as we shall see imitation of the Bible hold a high place in Enríquez Gómez's literary theories and the choice of Ecclesiastes, Proverbs etc. as a model is not without its significance, it is probable, on balance, that his intention is of a more universal nature - Man against Faith - than a specific attack on Christianity would imply, particularly as there is evidence, as we shall see, to suggest that there are areas of theology where he does not consider that Judaism and Christianity come into conflict.

Nonetheless, there are important nuances in the arguments put forward which may be interpreted as shifting the balance slightly away from the orthodox Christian viewpoint. Firstly, the view of original sin must be reconsidered. It is true that there is something of a consequential link between the sin of Adam and the sins of the world, as can be seen from the passage (pp.29-31) referred to above:

Pecó, y al punto mismo,  
 Del vltimo al postrero parassismo  
 El hombre se<sup>43</sup> adornó; crugió al ystante  
 El orbe de diamante:  
 Los exes rechinaron,  
 Las columnas firmisimas temblaron ...  
 Titubeó la maquina del mundo ...  
 La noche le ofreció su Mauseolo ...  
 Y rotas las visagras ymperiales  
 Guerra publica Dios a los mortales.

... Las abes se haçen guerra;  
 Braman las fieras, turbase la tierra,  
 Huye la paz, acogese á sagrado,  
 Campea el vicio, armase el pecado,  
 Sale la muerte, la delicia brilla,  
 La soberbia desnuda su cuchilla (Culpa pp.29.27-30.25)

Further, Adam becomes 'el Peregrino', Everyman, living with the consequences of his forebear's offence and there are many references to that offence being responsible for the present situation in which men find themselves, for example: 'Enlaça con la culpa cometida/Toda la especie humana, la sentencia'(63.23-4) and 'Vuestro primero Padre con engaño / Alimentó este yerro ...'(101.22) see also quotation Culpa, 63.17ff, below). Indeed, the character of El Peregrino seems to fluctuate between close identification with Adam and a differentiation between Adam and Man: 'tus hijos' (44.25) 'tu mi peregrino, pues perdiste el asiento cristalino.' (130.7-8) cf. 'Vuestro primero Padre' (101.22), showing that he is at once present Man with an identity of his own and Man the descendent of Adam, bound to him through sin.

To some extent this can be explained with reference to the strong element of literary technique here, in that the theme of original sin is being used in the poem as a whole as a thread to connect a varied assortment of poetic excursus on different themes and in different styles: lyrical descriptions of Eden (pp.1-13), amatory dialogues (pp.13-16), the drama of the temptation and confrontation of Adam and Eve following (pp.17-29), social satire in the sequence where El Peregrino is introduced to the world by El Tiempo (pp.33-52), theological argument in the 'Diálogos' and biblical imitation in the final sequence of 'La Verdadera Filosofia Moral' (pp.130-44). This is not the whole explanation, but it would appear artistically valid, particularly if one compares this approach with the use of the idea of the Transmigration of Souls in El siglo pitagórico (1644)



In addition, probing further what the poet actually says along the theological plane, one finds that he at no point states explicitly that Man is by nature corrupt and bound to sin. On the contrary, he puts great emphasis on Man's Free-will and his power to save himself. The nearest he comes is in the statement of Sabiduría that:

Si el hombre no pecara, es evidente,  
Que en el estado sancto floreciera  
A la simple bondad equivalente.  
Aquella pena como fué primera  
Por el hombre primero merecida  
A de tocar sin duda la postrera. (Culpa, 63.17-22)

The implication of the third line quoted would appear to be that Man is now in a state of 'maldad' rather than 'bondad'. However, this may in fact mean no more than that Man, through Adam's deed, has knowledge of good and evil (see Genesis 3.22), in other words, that he is no longer in a state of total goodness but knows of evil as well. But this does not mean that he must necessarily act in an evil manner and this view is supported by the three following lines quoted, which refer to Adam's sin as being responsible for Man losing eternal life and becoming subject to death: in other words, the whole passage is merely stating that the consequences of Adam's sin are a) knowledge of evil and b) death.

The matter is clarified somewhat by several references in El siglo pitagórico to the purity of the soul, coincidentally a fundamental tenet of Judaism. The idea is expressed in the following passage from the beginning of Chapter 13 ('Varias transmigraciones'):

Solía la materia de la Especie humana salir de las manos de Naturaleza docil, blanda, façonada, y perfeta: pero de muchos siglos a este parte se trocó de manera que su mayor blasón es armarse de soberbia y cñirse de Tiranía. Adónde vas ymagen del Criador? ...Saliste de las manos de tu hazedor perfeta y limpia y te vas a manchar en ese abismo de la corrupción, saliste por creación pura y sancta, y te vas a salpicar de generación pecadora .... come dize Job quisiste ser nacido de Muger, para calentarse en la hoguera del pecado, como dize David ... También yo, como dize Salomón, adquirí ciencia y di a mi espíritu la dolorosa herencia del delito, pero esa cruel

calaboço adonde vamos a pagar la culpa del primer hombre,  
horrible casa es de nuestra noble naturaleza ....Salimos  
de la mano Poderosa para merecer: pero corto merecimiento  
alcança quien no haze lo que puede y sigue loque no debe.  
(Siglo, pp.243-4 - own underlining)

On the one hand, the purity of the soul is affirmed, on the other, that all men suffer from the sin of Adam and are obliged to live in the prison of this world. There is a contradiction here, but it is the contradiction inherent in the conventional Catholic contrast between Man's purity 'in creation' and corruption 'in generation'. On the other hand, Enríquez would seem to be moving away from this, by firstly suggesting that even in 'esa cruel calabozo' Man preserves his 'noble naturaleza', the purity of soul with which he was created. Lest it be thought that this is intended historically with reference to Adam, he speaks of the merit we should gain but do not ('Salimos de la mano Poderosa para merecer...'). Secondly, the emphasis is on the potential for corruption from without, not on the tainted soul within ('la hoguera del pecado' etc.) This is also seen in the stress on social failings etc., seen both here and in La culpa. Further, by 'generación', he seems to have in mind, not the act of procreation itself, but the fact that Adam's act brought an end to his immortality and created the necessity for men to be born and to die (see: 'quisiste ser nacido de muger' i.e. Man/Adam chose procreation in preference to immortality). Finally, there is a clue in the phrase 'pero de muchos Siglos a este parte se trocó...' at the beginning of the quotation. This suggests that it was only after the passage of time that Man grew sinful, having been shown the way by Adam. Man over the ages has thus created a society in which sin and corruption flourish, not inevitably but because he has willed it. This also explains why, in La culpa, it is Time who shows El Peregrino through society because it is through time that Man has developed along paths of sin.

It is clear from the Romance al divín mártir, moreover, that, if the poet accepts that there is some consequence for Man of Adam's sin, he certainly does not accept the Christian corollary that Man has been



granted the possibility of salvation through the death of Jesus. He specifically rejects this notion in these terms:

Comió Adam una manzana,  
y para salvar su yerro,  
¿queréis vosotros formar  
quien le beba este veneno?

(Rom.11.2 47-50)

This being so, the perspective is at once altered in the direction of lifting the sense of burden from Man and towards a view of his sins as self-willed and their consequences as removable through Man's own individual and social action.

One may summarise Enríquez Gómez's view of original sin as a) a useful literary notion with which to link a variety of poetic themes and forms and b) a plausible explanation of the existence of evil but one which does not impugn the purity of Man's soul nor bind him to sin for ever, either personally or collectively. It is of interest to compare this view with that expressed by the Rabbis of the Talmud. As an explanation of the existence of evil, it conflicts with the concept of the presence within Man of an evil and a good inclination (yetzer ha-rah and yetzer ha-tov), but with regard to the soul it agrees with the Talmudic view of it as pure and noble from its creation and capable of leaving this world in an equally pure state:

Many utterances can be adduced from the Talmud to prove that man is sinless by nature. There is, e.g. such a statement as, 'A child aged one year who has not tasted sin' (Joma 22b). Upon the words of Ecclesiastes, 'There is a time to be born and a time to die' (Eccles.iii.2), was based the aspiration, 'Happy the man whose hour of death is like the hour of his birth; as at his birth he is free of sin, so at his death may he be free of sin' (p.Ber.4d). Here the possibility of an unstained life is not only admitted, but actually held forth as an ideal to which man should strive.<sup>44</sup>

Enríquez, like them, refuses to see Man as 'essentially corrupt in nature': the Rabbis subscribed to the view that the sin in the Garden of Eden had repercussions on all subsequent generations... It was the

cause of death which is the fate of every creature. In the same way they believed that the sin of the Golden Calf, left its taint and affected the destinies of mankind ever since<sup>45</sup>....

Such a thought, however, is far removed from the doctrine that man inherits sin. He may be burdened by the consequences of the wrongdoings of his forefathers; but no Rabbi of the Talmudic age would admit that any human being committed a wrong for which he or she was not personally responsible. Such an admission would have been at variance with the dogma of free will.

This would appear to describe Enríquez's position as to the consequences of Adam's sin and the burden of the past upon men, the personal responsibility of the individual and the importance of Free-will. Thus, while his theology may be overlain with Christian teaching, he nonetheless comes to a standpoint on Adam's sin and sin in general which is not far removed from that of Talmudic Judaism.

Secondly, the salvation which Man is offered in the prospect of heavenly reward is seen as the direct result of action in this world, not belief in any particular dogma. La culpa throughout lays emphasis on good deeds and on the exercise of Free-will in order to merit reward in after-life, as for example in the following:

La ympasible Deidad quiere que ygualé  
El propio mereçer al aluedrío,  
Si arrepentido deste Siglo sale, (Culpa 65.1-3)  
Las leyes del naçer no quitan vida;  
Dulce respiraçion conçeden quando  
La voluntad a Dios estã rendida.  
Si el espiritu puro enamorado  
Estã la luz del sol entendimiento,  
A la ynmortalidad va conquistando. (Culpa, 67.18-23)

This in itself does not take us beyond the Teaching of Christianity; on the other hand, there is a reflection of the Jewish perspective of concern with this life in the fact that the climax of the poem is in 'La Verdadera Filosofia Moral'. There, drawing on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, Enríquez Gómez sets out a practical guide for a life of goodness, with, moreover, the emphasis on changing society for the better - the Jewish principle of social justice. The poem ends (cf. El siglo pitagórico) with advice



to various members of society, judges, politicians etc., on how they can act in a way which will not only achieve their personal salvation but improve the lot of men in general:

Peregrino; socorre al Pasagero,  
 Político; gobiernate primero,  
 Iuez, jusga tu causa con justicia,  
 Ambicioso, avorreçe la cudiçia,  
 Sabio; confiesa que ygnora todo:  
 Prudente; no lo sea de otro modo,  
 Poderoso, publica la mudança,  
 Valido, no ay fiar de la pribança,  
 Y por fin del sermon, hombre piadoso  
 Teme a Dios poderoso,  
 Seras con superior sauiduria  
 Señor de la moral Filosofia. (Culpa, 144.9-20)

If, as has been argued, Enríquez Gómez sees original sin in terms of the social structures Man himself created, it would seem natural for him to view social change as a desirable end and not only that, to believe that if this were achieved the burden of original sin would be lifted.

Further evidence of the prime importance of deeds comes in El siglo pitagórico, in his reply to the debate on the futility or otherwise of life amongst the company of Don Gregorio Guadaña (Transmigración 5):

En vano despreciaron la vida los Filosofos, siendo ella vna escala por donde se sube a la ynmortalidad. Si piensa que los justos hazen penitencia por despreciar la materia se engaña, que los actos de virtud son los alientos de la misma vida: saber viuir es saber obrar; retirarse del mundo por buscar la quietud, será prudencia pero no sabiduria, porque la contemplacion del espiritu sin obras mas viene a se[r] vizio de la potencia, que virtud del Accto. (Siglo, p.92)

This represents a clear attack on the monastic life, the more clever for being in the mouth of a friar, and retiring from the world in order to lead a life of contemplation. Not only are deeds important in themselves, as the way to reach heaven, but they are superior to any detached intellectual or mystical concern with ideas or dogmas in the abstract. This is also demonstrated by the fact that nowhere in La culpa is there any reference to heavenly reward being conditional on belief in any particular

aspect of Christian dogma despite the tone of Christian orthodoxy already demonstrated; neither to the redemptive rôle of Jesus in compensating for the sin of Adam, nor to any part of Trinitarian doctrine. This is remarkable in a poem based ostensibly on one of Christianity's cardinal beliefs, original sin; instead it is through the actions of men, not through Jesus, that they are redeemed. One may contrast this view with that of Calderón in La mística y real Babilonia (auto) that man is condemned to eternal damnation without Jesus (see quotation p. 132 below)

This brings us to another point: the deeds of Man entitle him to reward on their merit alone and are not dependent on divine grace or intercession. There is implied, therefore, a rejection of the Christian view that even a virtuous man is dependent on Grace, that it may come through the intercession of Jesus, whose rôle as saviour has to be believed in, and that the taint of original sin remains whatever a man does. But, according to Sabiduría's description in the Fourth Dialogue of La culpa, the soul rises to heaven unfettered, provided it has been virtuous:

Buelue donde Salíó, siendo ynuisible  
 Al humano sentido ynteriormente (Culpa, 123.8-9)  
 El aliento diuino, diuidido  
 De la'fabrica humana, reconoce  
 La esphera celestial donde a salido (123.14-16)  
 Hecha ya yntiligencia yndiuisible  
 Traçiende el tabernaculo sagrado,  
 Aquél ynpenetrable, esta ympasible .  
 No así llega perfeto y señalado  
 El espiritu vano, que en el Mundo  
 Se abraço con la muerte y el pecado.  
 Forçosamente a de purgar lo ynmundo,  
 Si quiere conducir su entendimiento  
 Al vnico en los Orbes sin segundo. (123.23-124.5)

Whether the reference to 'purgar lo ynmundo' is to Purgatory or to repentance in life, there is no suggestion of any further barrier, such as dependence on Grace might represent, between the virtuous soul and its reward. It is true, of course, that the idea of 'grace' does occur in



some form in Enríquez Gómez's work for we have seen it in the Romance al divín mártir (l.305; see above, p.78 ), but there it is viewed as the favour of God which achieved through adherence to the Law. It is not seen, nor is it in La Culpa, as the 'unmerited favour of God':<sup>46</sup> on the contrary, it is merited by virtue of deeds. In the introductory lines of 'La Verdadera Filosofia Moral', the poet states:

... tu mi peregrino,  
Pues perdiste el asiento cristalino,  
Buelbe á cobralle agora  
En la moral doctrina, que athesora  
La gracia soberana, conocida  
Por luz del Alma, gloria de la vida. (Culpa, l.30.7-12)

By following the precepts which he proceeds to expound, one lays up a store of 'grace' or favour which will entitle one to heavenly reward.

From this emerges also Enríquez Gómez's view of the moral basis upon which divine favour is to be built: it is the Law. The Romance clearly stated that 'La Ley siendo guardada/tiene salvación de precio'.<sup>47</sup> There, of course, by the Law he means the Old Testament; in La Culpa he is less precise, but in all probability he has the same designation in mind. One passage in particular deals with the subject of the Law and its religious rôle; this is where Wisdom defends God's permitting of other religions to exist as follows:

La fe que con la ley se hizo ynbencible  
Es una sola religion eterna  
(Confirmada con pacto yndivisible.  
La gracia por los siglos abeterna  
Se comunica a todas las naciones  
De parte de la causa sempiterna.  
Dilatada por climas y Regiones,  
Los escogidos solos la buscaron,  
Con sanctos y piadosos coraçones.  
Aquellos que la ley no veneraron,  
No tienen fe, porque la fe les falte,  
Sino porque ella la dexaron.  
La pura Religion sirbe de esmalte  
A la palabra de la ley diuina,  
No precepto de Venus ni Marte  
...

La Celestial Sion marauillosa  
 Ierusalén triunphante de los Cielos  
 Es de los sanctos soberana esposa.

(Culpa, 120.14-121.2 & 6-8)

Despite Wisdom's comment earlier that he concurs with the view that only one faith should be permitted, he is oddly unspecific as to which that one should be and the absence of christological elements, such as reference to the Trinity, would seem to hint that Judaism might at least have an equal claim to that title. Indeed the reference to those who have abandoned the faith and the Law ('... sino porque la dexaron') is reminiscent of the strictures against those who have initiated a new Law and abandoned the old (i.e. the Christians) in the Romance (1.353)<sup>48</sup> Whatever the case, we would seem to be on familiar ground, compared with the other poem: the true religion is that of the Law or word of God ('la palabra de la ley diuina'), as expressed, it is implied, in the Bible; it is the Law which leads the just to the Celestial Jerusalem, rather than Jesus, the 'Lamb' of Revelation 21:23 ('the Lamb is the light thereof'). Moreover, it has been sealed as a pact, if not specifically between God and Israel, between God and Noah, to judge by the other references to the pact made after the Flood (e.g. Culpa, 101.1-3: 'Ya castigó el dilubio su malicia, / Por agua no a de auer otro segundo / Que el Yris asegura su cudicia.'), by which God declared he would not mete a global punishment on the world again but that each would pay the price of his own sins. This was an argument which was employed in the Romance against the redemptive rôle of Jesus ('... su delito puede pagar, no el ajeno' Rom. 11.245-6). Taking these elements together, one sees that, on the one hand, he fails to positively designate Christianity as the one true faith but, on the other hand, he points to the archetypal religion of the Bible, if the Noachide laws; which if they are not Judaism itself, are Judaism in its primitive form. Even put at its lowest level, this would seem to represent, in terms of seventeenth century Catholicism, a mild degree of heterodoxy.



The final aspect of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's theological outlook which requires further examination is the orientation towards life after death, as against life on this earth. The social point of view already discussed to some extent mitigates this apparent orientation, as it allows for some amelioration or reward in this life rather than in the next, as well as for the possibility of a total reversal of Man's estate. However, this cannot divert us from the fact that the greater part of the emphasis of the poet's argument is laid on life after death. Yet, on his own admission, this is of no consequence, since for him Jewish and Christian teaching are identical:

Predestinado el hombre, no perdona  
La fuerza (si es así que no lo creo)  
Del que obrando su parte perficiona.  
No se ajuste mi alma, con deseo  
Que oprime sin razon, aquel destino  
Que celebra el Christiano ye el Hebreo (Siglo, p. 249.12-17)

The afflicted poet protests at the unfairness of being both predestined and held to account for his deeds in this life in the judgement after death in which both faiths believe. In La culpa he expresses the same idea of their unanimity in some matters, if less specifically, with regard to punishment of evil and rewarding good in the next life:

Esta Rebulucion (i.e. reversal of worldly injustice),  
por cuyo medio  
Se sustentan naciones diferentes,  
Se jura de cometa sin Remedio. (Culpa, 99.11-13)

Presumably 'los hebreos' are among these 'naciones diferentes'.

One other reason for his adoption of the death-oriented perspective may well have been the situation of New Christians in general, persecuted by the Inquisition. They are to be offered the consolation that whatever the trials of this life, in the next justice will be done. There is some support for this interpretation in the outburst of Sabiduría, following the lines just quoted and forming part of the same argument, against 'malsines' who always in the works of Enríquez Gómez are associated with

the situation of Inquisitional oppression and the danger represented by informers. To quote:

Si crecen los malsines, te prometo  
Que la eterna Deydad no duerme, quando  
Ellos tienen al bueno(s) por obgeto.  
Dexalos que malsinen, fabricando  
La Torre de Babel artificiosa,  
La viudas y los pobres arruinando.  
La justicia del Cielo poderosa  
Deribara la fabrica de cera . (Culpa, 99.17-24)

This indicates that he has a particular social group in mind in his view of the life to come. Here, too, the Romance is relevant, as it presents a victim of the Inquisition at the point of death. For him this death will bring true life: 'si muero por quien vivo, / ya vivo de lo, que muero' (Rom. 4.339-40), 'en el mundo venidero / veré al Señor etc.' (11.374-5). In this way the background situation of persecution and martyrdom justifies the acceptance on the part of the poet of an idea or perspective which he might otherwise have rejected.

Taking the points discussed together - the moderated view of original sin, divine reward according to deeds, after-life as the necessary counterbalance to this life - there may be no idea which openly controverts Christian teaching, but one may see in Enríquez Gómez's tempering, counter-balancing, omitting from that teaching expected ideas, a withdrawal away from orthodoxy towards the kind of Jewish stance presented by the Romance al divín mártir.

Implied attitudes: The impression already formed of Enríquez Gómez's heterodoxy from the theological arguments in his poetry is reinforced by a general impression of negativistic attitudes with respect to the Christian faith. Reference has already been made to the absence of christological ideas at one point (concerning the one true religion, above, p. 128) where one might expect to encounter them. One may observe too that there are few references in his work as a whole<sup>49</sup> to Jesus or to



doctrines associated with him, such as the Trinity or his redemptive rôle. The exceptions are few and none of them invalidate the thesis that the omission of these references in general is the result of deliberate choice, designed in a negative way to express the poet's sense of Jewish identity and opposition to Christianity.

On the one hand, the Romance refers disparagingly to Jesus in the denial that God needed to 'atropellar un bueno, / para redimir al mundo' (Rom.11.228-9) and that his death could redeem the sin of Adam. (Rom.11.247-62) Similarly, it mentions the Trinity in order to reject it in favour of the oneness of God. On the other hand, there are references to Jesus of a non-questioning, accepting nature, in La política angélica and in the Loa a los siete planetas. In the first case, the reason is clear if one accepts Révah's thesis that the work presents an attack on the Inquisition in the only way possible in France, where Judaism was not officially permitted, that is to say 'comme une protestation chrétienne'. Révah continues:

Le pamphlet ... est donc bien un exercice littéraire et intellectuel typiquement marrane; un judaisant essaie de se placer dans la position d'un catholique et recherche les arguments que ce dernier pourrait opposer aux méthodes inquisitionnelles.<sup>50</sup>

With this as his intention, it follows that the author would make much use of the New Testament and the words of Jesus (not to mention Patristic sources) in order to demonstrate with the greatest authority the divergence between Inquisitorial practice and Christian teaching. It is worth noting that there are no references to the Virgin in this work, precisely because they have no place in an argument between theory and practice.

In the second case, that of the Loa, there is also an element of constraint, forcing the poet to include christological references, imposed this time by the fact that a loa to an autosacramental of necessity partakes of the nature of that auto which itself is intended as an act of religion or religious ceremony. It is traditional also that in the

loa the chalice and Host are elevated at the end. It would be strange indeed, if not sacriligious, for this act not to be performed and referred to, and no mention of Jesus, the Cross etc. made at some point in the text. Hence, lines 80-3: 'despues que pagó el delito / de el primer hombre, en la Cruz / el gran Sacerdote Cristo ...' and lines 380-1: 'Este pan que adoramos / Sacramentado (i.e. la ostia)'. While it is possible that this may represent the true feelings of an Enríquez Gómez returned to the Catholic fold on his return to Spain, it is more likely, as there is no evidence of a change of religious outlook on his part, that he was forced<sup>!!</sup> to write a work of more overtly Catholic feeling than he would otherwise have wished by the need to earn a living during his years of obscurity in Spain. This would explain why he wrote a work which would inevitably be strongly Christian in nature. Even so, it does not overflow with Christian enthusiasm.

Where there is no reason of circumstance or argument, Antonio Enríquez Gómez's work shows a marked absence of christological references, even in situations where, from the Christian point of view, some such reference would come naturally, indeed where it would be 'unnatural' to exclude it. The outstanding example from La culpa del primer peregrino has already been referred to, namely the absence of any allusion to Jesus as redeeming the sin of Adam. A contrasting approach can be seen in Calderon's auto, La mística y real Babilonia, where Gabriel explains to Shadrak, Mishak and Abednego regarding original sin:

Que estando el Mundo  
condenado a eternas llamas,  
según presente justicia,  
por aquella desdichada  
herencia de Adán, en quien  
comprometida la Humana  
Naturaleza incurrió,  
vive en fe de la esperanza  
del Verbo, que ha de venir  
a redimir y librarla.<sup>51</sup>



For this intensely Christian writer the link between Jesus and Adam is beyond doubt and the mention of the redemptive rôle of the one is a logical concomitant of reference to the sin of the other. Even allowing for the strength of Calderón's Christian commitment, the contrast with Enríquez Gómez's approach is evident.

Similarly, one notices in Enríquez's work that he fails on many occasions to elaborate points which in other writers lend themselves to expansion in a Christian direction. For example, in La culpa del primer peregrino (p.26.23), he refers to 'las [tres] potencias del alma', but without further comment. Lope de Vega, on the other hand, referring to the creation of Man in God's image (Genesis, 1:26) in La Creación del mundo (Act 1), introduces the concept as proof of their resemblance to the effect that as God is 'three-fold' so is Man:

Hízole a su semejanza  
 porque el alma racional  
 se parece a Dios en esto:  
 que siendo Dios trino y uno,  
 nuestro espíritu así mismo  
 es uno en esencia, y trino  
 en tres potencias su imperio.<sup>52</sup>

The analogy is not Lope's entirely, but derives from Saint Augustine; it is significant, though, that he exploits it poetically, whereas Enríquez chooses not to. This is the more surprising<sup>1</sup> in that he too makes reference to Man created in God's image in La culpa (p.94, note to line 14; 127:14). Similarly, he declines<sup>2</sup> on several occasions, both in the same poem and elsewhere, to exploit the Trinitarian potential of the Platonic concept of 'Los tres animados movimientos' or the three spheres (material, celestial and intellectual) of the universe (e.g. Culpa, 5.8 and S.N. XIV 58).

In addition, there is, as A.D.H. Fishlock observed in the case of Juan Pinto Delgado,<sup>53</sup> a poet of proven Jewish faith, a complete absence of any of the Catholic symbolism one might expect to find. Although not

all Christian writers of the period agreed with the allegorisation of the Old Testament, some identification between the Old Testament situations and figures and New Testament teaching appears to have been inevitable in their writings: Fishlock quotes from the works of Juan López de Ubeda to illustrate the use of Esther as a Virgin figure without interest in her for her own sake. In Juan Pinto Delgado's case, Fishlock observed the contrast between even the low-key analogy between Lope's Esther, in his play La Hermosa Ester, and Mary and the absence of such an analogy in Pinto's poem La Reina Ester. A comparable instance is presented by Enríquez Gómez's Sansón Nazareno. Christian commentators saw many points of similarity between Samson and Jesus, the most important of which were, according to the summary given by Cornelius a Lapide,<sup>54</sup> as follows :

a) Samson's birth to a barren woman, announced beforehand by an angel (Judges 13:2 ff cf. Luke 1:27 ff.)• (Cornelius, p.160).

b) Samson as a Nazirite, separate from other men, 'crowned' (by his hair) as God's and consecrated to God 'unde fuit typus Christi' (Cornelius, p.160, refers to Jerome.)

c) Samson as dying for the sake of others (arms outstretched as on the cross: Saint Jerome, Cornelius, p.179, or likened to the honey from the dead lion: Saint Augustine, Cornelius, p.165).

d) Samson is compared also with John the Baptist, being dedicated to God from birth, a precursor of Jesus and dying a martyr's death (St. Jerome, Cornelius, p.160).

To take each point in turn with reference to Enríquez' Samson:

a) Samson's birth: This is described by Enríquez in four lines only:

Era el fuerte Sansón santificado  
En la divina de su madre esfera,  
Arbol viviente que, al quedar plantado  
En estéril verjel, dio primavera. (S.N.1.7,i-iv)

He omits any reference to the angel's announcement of the birth and the jealousy of Manoach, thus precluding any analogy with the birth of Jesus. The phrase 'estéril verjel' might suggest a reference to the Virgin by



the similarity of 'vergel' and 'virgen' and the use of 'estéril' possibly to denote virginity, - one notes the use of the adjective in this sense in Felipe Godínez's Aman y Mardocheo.<sup>55</sup> However, nothing in Enríquez's words forces such an interpretation and it can be seen quite simply as a poetic expression of the text of Judges 13:2 'and his wife (Manoach's) was barren and bore not' making use of the metaphor of plant growth. An analogy with John the Baptist (the barrenness of Elisabeth, Luke 1.36) might be suggested, but again the lack of reference to the angel-messenger tends to preclude it.

b) Samson the Nazirite: there is no reference in the account of his birth to Samson being a Nazir or Nazirite, nor to the rules of life which as a Nazir he was to follow, that is to say, abstention from alcohol and unclean meat and refraining from cutting the hair, beyond a generalized reference to his being sanctified or dedicated to God from the womb (I.7.i-ii). The hair is mentioned as the crowning glory of Samson's physical presence: 'El sol de su cabello daba muestra / De tener.../ Sagrados rayos de la sacra diestra...' (I.11), but not only in the context of the rules ordained for the Nazir to follow (this comes only later in Samson's confession to Dalida, XIII.45-7). It is possible that, as with the ass's jaw-bone which is referred to obliquely as 'asta irracional' (VIII.47), he has preferred to avoid mentioning what is well-known and obvious. Nonetheless, it would seem that in his initial presentation of his hero, Enríquez Gómez has deliberately omitted any mention of the particular word Nazir or 'nazareno' in order to eliminate the association of Nazirite and Nazarene or emphasising the Nazirite commandments which would portray his Samson as a man apart like Jesus. Samson, of course, is given the title of 'el Nazareno' throughout, but by this the poet means simply that he is especially dedicated to God and is endowed with a special mission among the Israelites. He is not separate from others, only charged in particular with upholding the Law, of which the Nazirite laws are largely symbolic. Thus, not only is the Nazirite element

de-emphasised, but it is put in the context of Samson's rôle as representative of God and Israel.

c) Samson's death: Enríquez Gómez's Samson does indeed die for the sake of others, but he dies firstly for Israel and not for people in general and secondly (and more importantly) he dies for God and the Law which has been given to Israel and which he in particular should have kept:

Yo muero por la Ley que tú escribiste,  
 Por los preceptos santos que mandaste,  
 Por el pueblo sagrado que escogiste  
 Y por los mandamientos que ordenaste;  
 Yo muero por la patria que me diste  
 Y por la gloria conque el pueblo honraste,  
 Muero por Israel, y lo primero  
 Por tu inefable Nombre verdadero.

(S.N.XIV.61)

The emphasis on the Law and fidelity to it is exactly the same as in the Romance al divín mártir (see Chapter Three, p. 74 ff. cf. above p. 128 ) and there is no hint of the kind of significance attached to his sacrifice seen in Juan Pérez de Montalbán's El valiente Nazareno (Act I):

Tú que semejanza eres  
 del Messías, que ofreció  
 al mundo el Eterno Padre,  
 para su restauración ... 56

and (where Samson is offering himself to save threatened Israelites in the hands of 'King Lisarco'):

Fuera de que soy retrato  
 del Mesías que se espera,  
 para que por todos muera,  
 y por imitarle quiero,  
 ya que por todos no muero,  
 morir por estos si quiera. (Act II, ed. cit. fol. 100<sup>v</sup>)

Here one notices not only the specific correlation between Samson dying for Israel and Jesus dying 'for all', but the general view of Samson as typus Christi or prefiguration of Jesus. This once more illustrates how the orthodox Christian writer, even in a play which is not primarily



religious nor even particularly biblical save in the broadest narrative sense, finds such correlations natural and, by the same token, how Enríquez Gómez's failure to develop them seems to arise from a conscious choice and indicate a negative attitude towards Christianity.

Finally, on this point, the description of Samson's death itself is of the briefest and is direct and unallegorical in tone:

De un golpe solo treinta mil gentiles  
Mató Sansón, logrando victorioso  
En vida y en muerte sus cuarenta abriles,  
Todos ceñidos del laurel famoso;  
Ridimieron sus años juveniles  
La casa de Israel y el poderoso  
Dominio de la sangre felistea  
Quedó sujeto a la potencia hebrea (S.N. XIV.68)

There is no nuance of description here to connect Samson with Jesus - certainly no suggestion of arms outstretched in the manner of the Cross.

d) Samson and John the Baptist: Much of what has been said concerning Samson and Jesus can be applied to the Samson/John analogy: the lack of reference to the angel who foretells his birth, the general literalness to the text of Judges and absence of positive hints in the direction of an analogy the countervailing emphasis on the national rôle of Samson and as defender of the Law. Nor is there any detail to connect him with John, for example, he is not seen to be endowed with the gift of prophecy. Thus there is no reason on this level of specific detail to relate the two figures; but, if Samson is not, as we have argued, to be seen as a messianic figure in himself, he might be thought of as a precursor of the Messiah, which is the rôle in which John is cast in the New Testament. However, as with Jesus, no indication of this is given, particularly in his final words before his death, part of which has been quoted above. If an analogy were intended, it would be here that one would expect to find some statement to the effect that 'one mightier than I cometh' (Luke 3.16). Instead the theme of the speech is

Samson's atonement of his sins through death for Israel and God.

Even so it might still be possible to argue such a view by reference to the Christianised presentation of the advent of the Messiah in Book VII of the poem. If the Messiah is Christian, then perhaps Samson is cast as John to him. The subject is discussed fully in Chapter Six; here it is sufficient to say that, despite the marked influence of Christian teaching, the context of the prophecy of the Coming as the climax of a succession of 'Heroes of Israel', the absence of what one might consider essential christological elements - virgin birth, Cross, resurrection etc. - and the general view presented of the rôle and function of the Messiah suggest that a Jewish Messiah is intended or at least that the Christian view is not the only one permissible. It is true that it is less uncompromisingly Jewish than that presented in the Romance, but that may merely mark the difference between an unpublished manuscript and a work published in a country where Judaism was not officially allowed. Nonetheless, if the Messiah of Sansón Nazareno, Book VII is not portrayed as beyond doubt in the person of Jesus, then there is less than a compulsion to see his Samson in the rôle of John the Baptist, particularly as within Book VII no connection is suggested between the figure of Samson, which takes its chronological place in the pageant (VII.36 'Este que ves es tu retrato mismo...'), and the later figure of the Messiah. This being so, one may reject the notion that an analogy between Samson and John the Baptist is intended.

Antonio Enríquez Gómez does not appear then to agree with the allegorisation of the Old Testament. Not only this but he refuses to see the Old Testament as a whole from the perspective of the New; on the contrary, his attitude is one of positive discrimination in favour of the Old Testament. Lope de Vega, in his Creación del Mundo, which relates the story of Man from Adam to the killing of Cain by his son Lamech, sees Abel as 'primer mártir de la Iglesia' (Act II, ed.cit., p.93); Calderón,



in La mística y real Babilonia, interlinks Adam and Jesús and the three victims of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace are saved through Jesus, not the intervention of the angel (see Daniel 3.25), even the judaizer, Felipe de Godínez, sees the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks in his play Aman y Mardocheo (where it has no historical place but is worked in with a Christian intention) as pointing directly at the coming of Jesus and the dispossession of the Jews of their 'chosen' status (Act II, ed.cit., p.64). Further, in the play referred to in the second example above, Calderón does not attempt to give Israel, the Jewish people, a separate historical identity, since for him the transference of the tradition of the Old Testament to the New Testament is an unquestioned assumption. For Enríquez Gómez, on the other hand, the Old Testament stands on its own merit as a historical document, each one of the figures which precede the Messiah in Book VII is described in proper biblical terms without projection forward. An example of this is the description of the Machabees, who are regarded by Christianity as early martyrs of the Church, a view shared by Miguel de Silveira in his epic El Macabeo but not, on the evidence of the following stanza, by Enríquez Gómez:

Aquellos siete jóvenes famosos,  
 Planetas firmes deste cielo impirio,  
 Del pùeblo querubines luminosos,  
 Coronados de palma en el martirio;  
 Esos que a los Antiocos odiosos  
 Duplicaron la furia en el delirio  
 Son los siete divinos Macabeos,  
 Ilustres entre todos los hebreos. (S.N.VII.73)

They are national heroes and martyrs of Israel, but not of the Church.

Evidence of actual discrimination in favour of the Old Testament comes from several quarters. Firstly, if one looks at the themes chosen by Enríquez Gómez for his poems, one can see that not one of them has its origin in the New Testament, whereas there are many which are drawn from the Old Testament. In the collection of poems and plays, Las Academias morales de las Musas, there are sonnets concerning Noah, Enoch and Adam,

a canción entitled 'A la Creación del Mundo', a romanticised version of the Rape of Dinah as well as a play La prudente Abigail based on the episode of David and Abigail in I Samuel.25. La culpa del primer peregrino recounts the Genesis story of Adam and Eve and the aftermath of their sins and Sansón Nazareno finds its origins in the Book of Judges.<sup>57</sup> The choice of Old Testament themes in itself, of course, does not indicate Jewish leanings as the versions of Lamentations and Song of Songs by Quevedo bear witness - but in the absence of counterbalancing use of or interest in the New Testament as a source of themes it may be counted as evidence tending in that direction. Moreover, taking the example of Sansón Nazareno again, one finds that, according to the indications given by F. Pierce in his study, La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro,<sup>58</sup> only nine out of the 209 epics which he lists for the period of the Golden Age are concerned with Old Testament or Apocryphal themes. Of these nine, six are by writers of New Christian origin: Estrella Lusitano (La Macabea, León, 1604), Jacob Uziel (David, Venice, 1624), Juan Pinto Delgado (La Reina Ester, Rouen, 1627), Miguel Silveira (El Macabeo, Naples, 1638), Diego Enríquez Basurto (Job, Rouen, 1649) and Antonio Enríquez Gomes.<sup>59</sup> The first three of these are known to have been Jews or judaisers; Silveira, despite the Christian orthodoxy of his writing, may well have been a judaiser<sup>60</sup> (he frequented the house of Bartolomé Febos like Enríquez); and Enríquez Basurto, Antonio Enríquez Gómez's son is known to have been allied with the scepticism of Juan de Prado but may well have been a Jewish sceptic notwithstanding.<sup>61</sup> Thus, it would appear that the choice of an Old Testament theme for an epic is ipso facto<sup>62</sup> indicative of the Jewish inclination of its author.

Secondly, in the works of Antonio Enríquez Gómez as a whole there are very few quotations, either direct or in paraphrase, from the New Testament (with the exception of La política angélica which, as we have already seen presents a deliberately Christian argument).<sup>62</sup> In La culpa, there



are many such references in the marginal notes, but the function of these is to convey the impression of Christian orthodoxy, as well as of great learning, and by and large they do not indicate the actual use of the source quoted or referred to in the text itself; for example, the marginal reference to Romans 3.25 on page 131 merely repeats the reference to Proverbs 8.4 which is quoted in the text (see below p.142). An exception is in the following lines from 'La Verdadera Filosofía Moral': 'Perdona de tu proximo el pecado, / Y seras en el Cielo perdonado' which is close to the source indicated in Matthew 6:14: 'For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive your trespasses'. Since this comes from the 'Lord's prayer', it is not surprising that it has lodged in the author's memory from his upbringing. The description of the Messiah in Sansón Nazareno provides another example, where the following is found:

Mira abrirse la puerta de diamante  
Y de su amor un líquido torrente  
Y en la nave de Templo militante  
Beber el mundo el agua de su fuente. (S.N.VII.77,i-iv)

These lines echo strongly the words of Revelation 22:1: 'And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb'. However, as we shall see later (Chapter Six), Enríquez's presentation of the Messiah as a whole is strongly influenced by that in Miguel de Silveira's El Macabeo, where the influence of Revelation is pervasive, and this to a large extent explains its use here.

On the other hand, Enríquez Gómez frequently quotes from the Old Testament. One of his favorite examples is from Psalm 4.5: 'Ofreced sacrificios de justicia,' which is often coupled with Psalm 51.19: 'Corazón contrito y humillado es perfecto sacrificio' (both quoted Luis, p.25 & Pol.ang.II, Révah; ed., p.123 cf. for second, Rom.1.336). Solomon's advice, (Eccles.7.16) 'Hijo, no te justifiques mucho, que te perderás', occurs in the preface to Academias morales (fol.9<sup>v</sup>) and in La Política

angélica (ed.cit.,p.148) In the final part of La culpa del primer peregrino, 'La Verdadera Filosofía Moral', quotations and close paraphrases from Proverbs and Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) abound and in passages elsewhere in the poem (as well as in Academias morales)<sup>63</sup> where the vanity of life is the theme the influence of the Book of Job and Ecclesiastes is strong, both in the phrases the poet employs to express it and in the general modelling of the poet's stance on either the protesting figure of Job or the world-weary observer of men's follies as in Solomon's writings. To illustrate the latter, El Peregrino's discussions with Sabiduría parallel those of Job with his comforters and his lament in Dialogue 1 moves from '¿Para qué vine al mundo?' - Job's 'Let the day perish wherein I was born' (Job 3:3) - to the theme seen in Ecclesiastes of the pointlessness of life if one is doomed to die, summarised in the conclusion: 'Que todo a de ocupar un Mauseolo' which derives from Ecclesiastes 3:20: 'All go unto one place: all are of dust, and all turn to dust again'.

As an illustration of the intensive use of quotations in 'La Verdadera Filosofía Moral', one can quote its opening lines:

Oydme pueblos, escuchad naciones,  
Estas, si no sutiles opiniones,  
Sentencias verdaderas,  
Conceptos que distilan las esferas  
De alados Cherubines abrasados  
....

No sustentés por tema or por estado  
La bárbara opinión del obstinado;  
No te dexes llebar de la cudiçia  
Si quieres que te ampare la justicia:

Ni te armes de la yra con desprecio,  
Por que no te arrepientas como neçio;  
No espies, no, con animo ymprudente  
Espíritu vital, sangre ygnocente;

Prov.8.4-7: 'O hombres, a vosotros clamo; y mi boz es à los hijos de los hombres...(6)Oyd, porque hablaré cosas excelentes, y abriré mis labios para cosas rectas.(7) Porque mi paladar hablará verdad...' <sup>64</sup>

Prov.3:7: 'No seas sabio en tu opinión... y apártate del mal'  
Prov.3.30: 'No pleitees con alguno sin razón si el no te ha mal galardonado'

Prov.14.17: 'El que presto se enoja, hará locura'  
Prov.1.11: 'Si dixerén: Ven con nosotros, espiemos à la sangre, assechemos al inocente sin razon.'



No afligas con rigor al afligido,  
Si quieres ser de Dios favorecido  
Y para no perderte con agrabio  
A tus hijos castiga como sabio.

(Culpa.pp.130.1 -131.6)

B.S.4.3: 'Ál coração irritado no  
conturbes mas...'

B.S.30.1: 'El que ama à su hijo  
continamente lo açotará, para ser  
alegre en su postrimeria....'  
(cf. Prov.13.24)

Each of these 'sentencias' has its origin in or at least in part draws on some aphorism to be found in one of the Wisdom sources. Later on in the same passage, Enríquez Gómez develops his own ideas on social conduct in the style of these sources, intermixing quotation with close or general imitation, as in the stanza which begins: 'No te alabes del día de mañana' (citing directly Proverbs 27.1) but goes on to give some of the poet's own advice about the corruption of court life (p.131.19ff).

This last example illustrates a further point, which is that Enríquez Gómez often uses Old Testament sources, not simply for incidental quotations nor as a general model (see, above, with reference to 'el Peregrino' and Job and Ecclesiastes), but as the basis for a poetic elaboration which incorporates whole phrases and ideas from the source. The kind of literalism which results appears to be an act of homage almost towards the text of the Bible, a reverence akin to that of the compilers of the Ferrara Bible who sought by their literal translation to reproduce 'la verdad hebrayca', and which suggests that the poet's intention is not only poetic innovation but the expression of his religious feelings. As such it is significant that, while there are several examples of this poetic exercise making use of the Old Testament, there are none with respect to the New Testament.

Perhaps the full flavour of this approach can best be gained from the following passage in La Culpa, which is taken from the dialogue between Adam and Eve regarding the commandment relating to the Tree of Knowledge:

Adam

Hermoso dueño mio,  
 en cuya nieue el alba  
 va formando la Rosa  
 sobre campos de nacar[...]

Lilio candido y bello  
que entre coral se guarda  
de los cristales puros  
que arrojan las montañas

Tus ojos de Paloma,  
me son esposa amada,  
dos verdaderos Nortes,  
por do se rige el alma

Tus dorados Cabellos  
parecen a las Cabras(;  
del Monte, a quien los Siglos  
daran docta alabanza

Tus pechos dos mellicos,  
que retozando en gama  
se apacientan en lirios  
por valles de esperanças.

Guerto cerrado y bello  
es tu verguença casta,  
florido aluergue hermoso  
del abril de tu gracia.

El ampo de la Aurora  
es tu hermosa garganta,  
y de diez azuçenas  
tus bellas manos blancos.

(Culpa, 13.13a-25b)

The poet proceeds by combining direct quotations or close paraphrase from the Song of Songs (underlined above) with his own or conventional elaborations, as for example where 'Tus ojos de paloma' are further described as 'dos verdaderos Nortes' (stanza 3 above) or in the circumlocutory phrase substituted for the name of Mount Gilead (stanza 4). As a result the stereotyle of the Golden Age poetic mistress is reinvigorated through the directness, not to say sensuality, of the source. While modifying the source somewhat in the process (e.g. 'pechos' for 'tetas'), much of the quality of the original succeeds in coming through. In doing this, the poet has clearly reacted to the obvious meaning of the Song of Songs and

Song of Songs

See 'rosa' in quotation below  
 (Song 2.1.)

Song 2.1: 'Yo soy el Lyrio del  
 campo, y la rosa de los valles'

Song 4.1: 'He aqui que tu eres  
 hermosa, o Compañera mia..., tus ojos,  
 de paloma entre tus copetes'

Song 4.1: 'tu cabello, como  
 manada de cabras que se muestran  
 desde el monte de Galad' (AEG's phrase  
 a reference to Jer.8.22: 'Is there  
 no balm in Gilead?')

Song 4.5: 'Tus dos tetas, como dos  
 cabritos mellizos de gama, que son  
 apacentados entre los lyrios.'

Song 4.12: 'Huerto cerrado eres...  
 fuente cerrada, fuente sellada'

Song 4.4: 'Tu cuello, como  
 torre de marfil'



disregarded any interpretation which might be applied to it - there is no suggestion of allegory here, as in the glosses on the first chapter of the Song of Songs by Quevedo or even in the translation of the book by Luis de León. The latter indicates an allegorical understanding of the works by the designation of the interlocutors as 'Esposo' and 'Esposa' (cf. the use of these titles for Jesus and the soul or Virgin in poesía a lo divino) as well as by the nuances of his translation (for example, he suggests in 'fuente sellada' an allusion to the Virgin). Moreover, Enríquez Gómez seems to have been so struck by the language of Song of Songs that he used it again in his description of the Law in the Romance, where the phrases 'Sus ojos son de paloma' and 'de dos blancos mellizos/tiene sus hermosos pechos' recur (Rom.1.357 & 359-60). Eve's reply (Culpa, p.15-16, particularly 15.19b-16.16a) continues in the same non-allegorical, literal manner, on the basis of the Shulamite's description of her lover (Song 2.8-9 and 5.6-12).

The significance of the dominant rôle which Antonio Enríquez Gómez accords the Old Testament - seen in his choice of themes, quotations, and modelling - becomes clear when one refers back to the views expressed in the Romance al divín mártir and echoed in La culpa del primer peregrino that the Old Testament is the original and authentic Law, the prime source of truth and the pathway to salvation (see p.127 above). It follows therefore that it will have a higher place in his scheme of values than any other source and that this will be reflected in his writing. It also dictates the faithful use of the Old Testament, such as has been seen in the passages quoted from 'La Verdadera Filosofía Moral' and Adam's description cf. Eve. Even in the Sansón Nazareno, which is many times the length of its source in Judges, the principle of fidelity holds true, if one allows for the dramatic need to fill out characters and their motivations and to describe in detail their actions (see Chapter 5). Such an approach to the Old Testament would seem to amount to something akin to a religious act, the poet by this means expressing his reverence

for the text of the Holy Law.

Together with the negative attitude towards Christian ideas, seen in his reticence, omissions and general lack of enthusiasm, this positive leaning towards the Old Testament, itself a negation of the New Testament and the doctrine it embodies, amounts to further indirect evidence of the poet's pro-Jewish stance.

Identifiable Jewish elements. In the discussion so far in this section (ii), the approach has been oblique - to look at the words of the poet from the point of view of Christian society and culture and to see what deviations exist, what deviations and omissions, might lead one to suspect and in many cases conclude that there is in them an inclination towards ideas and opinions of a Jewish nature. Now one must turn to such direct evidence as exists of Jewish knowledge and commitment on the part of the author (again, excluding the Romance and focusing mainly on his poetry).

Just as there is no overt attack on Christian doctrine in works other than the Romance, there is no evidence elsewhere of the kind of use of Rabbinic Literature, Zoharitic and Kabbalistic ideas found there. Nonetheless there are significant if minor pieces of evidence. Perhaps the most revealing indication of attitude, one which might be adopted easily by a crypto-Jew and endowed with almost mystic significance as an expression of commitment, without fear of penetration, is the avoidance of the use of the hybrid Hebrew word 'Yehovah' as the Name of God. This is despite the fact that it is to be found in the Bible which Enríquez Gómez used, the Spanish translation by Cassiodoro de la Reyna.<sup>65</sup> There are many cases in La política angélica where passages from the Bible are quoted in full (though often with an element of paraphrase) but with the word 'Yehovah' (or Jehová) omitted and replaced by 'Dios' or 'Señor'. This evidently betokens a positive choice on the part of the author to avoid the word. One example is where he quotes Deuteronomy 13:1-9



(concerning false prophets) in connection with the argument as to whether heretics should be put to death:

Válense de la palabras del Deuteronomio que dicen: Cuando se levantara en medio de ti Profeta o soñador de sueños... no oirás la palabra del tal profeta. Y luego dice: El tal soñador morirá, porque habló rebelión contra tu Señor Dios. Y más adelante dice: Cuando te persuadiere tu hermano, tu hijo o tu hija... que desampare al Señor tu Dios, no le perdonarán tus ojos ni tendrás de él misericordia, ni lo disimularás, luego lo entregarás para que muera.

(Pol.Ang.II,Rév.ed.p.118)

The source of this passage in the Reyna translation reads:

(1) Quando se levantara en medio de ti propheta o soñador de sueño...(2) No oyrás las palabras del tal propheta...(5) Y el tal propheta, o soñador de sueño, morirá, porque habló rebelión contra Iehova vuestro Dios.(6) Quando incitare tu hermano, hijo de tu madre, o tu hijo, o tu hija...diziendo en secreto, vamos, y sirvamos a dioses agenos...(8) No consentirás con el...ni tu ojo le perdonará ni aurás compassión ni lo encubrirás.(9) Mas matarlohas...

One can see immediately that, although the quotation is more or less the same as in the source, the poet has made the change indicated (underlined); not only that but he has chosen to repeat the amended phrase where it has no place in the original ('al Señor tu Dios), demonstrating that this is the form of reference to God which he prefers and is most natural to him.

It is possible to argue, on the other hand, that the avoidance of 'Jehová' is motivated by considerations of style, in that it is a 'barbarism' offensive to the taste of his age. While there may be an element of this, as in the case of Juan Pinto Delgado's avoidance of the word (according to Fishlock),<sup>66</sup> it does not prevent him from using other non-Spanish words of Hebrew origin, as we shall see below. Further, the same consideration did not prevent Calderón in Iamística y real Babilonia (ed.cit.,p.1061) expounding on the names of God: 'Jehová, Dios de lo Dioses;/ Sabaoth,Dios de Batallas;/ Adonai, Dios de Ciencias'. There are several occasions where Enríquez Gómez might similarly have listed these amongst

the names of God which occur, for example in the introductory sequence of La culpa or throughout 'La Creación del mundo' (Ac.mor.pp.137-52) but he chose<sup>71</sup> not to. One is lead to the conclusion that style is not the prime consideration, but that the avoidance of the word represents a desire to conform with the Jewish tradition of not speaking or writing the Tetragramation.

Aslo potentially indicative of a Jewish leaning is the use of Hebrew words in Sansón Nazareno. However, as the quotation from Calderón's work just given indicates, this cannot be taken at face value and requires careful examination. The words are: 'Sabaot' ('hosts'), 'Eloín' (i.e. Elohim = God) and 'sofar' (i.e. shofar = trumpet, made of ram's horn). To take each in turn in context:

- a) 'Sabaot': Aquel que ... aun más allá del pensamiento,  
El trono ve de la Deidad, en tanto  
Que le canta el seráfico concento  
Al santo Sabaot tres veces santo,  
Es Isafas... (S.N.VII.49 i-iv)

The reference is to Isaiah 6:1-3, where the vision of 'the Lord sitting upon a throne' is described, with the chorus of the angels singing:

'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole world is full of his glory'. The last part of the passage comes both into Jewish ritual as the Kedushah and into the Catholic Mass as the Sanctus, the relevant portions of which are respectively; 'Kados, Kados.Kados .A. [Adonai] Cebaoth'<sup>67</sup> and 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus, Deus Sabaoth'.<sup>68</sup>

Comparing the two versions, there is nothing to suggest that Enríquez Gómez has used the Jewish version in preference to the Catholic, indeed closeness to the latter makes it the more likely source.

- b) 'Eloín': Este que canta endechas alabando  
Del sagrado Eloín el Nombre eterno  
Es Jeremías... (S.N.VII.54, v-vii)

Elohim being the Hebrew for God might suggest a Jewish source, but this is not necessarily so, although it is not excluded. Firstly, Elohim is not the word for God used in the Hebrew, the Ferrara, nor the Reyna versions of Jeremiah, nor does it occur in the transcribed Hebrew portions of



the Sephardi vernacular Prayer-book, where the construct form Elohenu is frequently to be found. Thus it cannot have been lifted easily from these Jewish sources. Secondly, the word can be found in the writings of Christian commentators, for example in Cornelius a Lapide's analysis of Judges 13.22<sup>69</sup> and it is commonplace in the discussions of the Christian Kabbalists.<sup>70</sup> This means that, while knowledge of the word might have been transmitted to the poet by an acquaintance better versed in Hebrew and Judaism, he would still have had no difficulty encountering it in a non-Jewish Latin or vernacular source.

c) 'sofar': Este que alienta del sofár los ecos  
Trompa de Josafá, valle fecundo  
A cuyo fuerte voz los huesos secos  
Vienen al Juicio universal del mundo  
Es justo Joel.... (S.N.VII.59,i-iv,v)

The passage refers to the account of the Resurrection of the Dead found in the Book of Joel (2.1 ff.) While the word 'sofar' (shofar) occurs in the Hebrew, it does not do so in either the Ferrara or Reyna versions, which have 'corneta' and 'trompeta' respectively. He is not likely to have read the Hebrew Bible, nor does the word occur with any frequency in the type of Christian commentaries already mentioned in connection with 'Eloín': Cornelius' commentary on Joel 2.1(or v 15)<sup>71</sup> makes no reference to it. Therefore, it is necessary to look elsewhere for the source. Every Jew is familiar with the word as well as with the object it denotes: it is blown during the morning service on Rosh ha-Shanah, the New Year, and at the end of the day-long devotions of Yom Kippur or Day of Atonement. Someone of Enríquez Gómez's acquaintance such as Manuel Diaz Sanchez or Agustino Chacón, with some knowledge of authentic Judaism, could well have brought the word to his attention. Alternatively, since it has already been argued that Jewish prayer-books in Spanish were available in France in the period when Enríquez Gómez was there(see above, pp110-12 ) he could easily have read for himself the words of the service for Rosh ha-Shanah: 'Pizmon de tañer el Sophar: A.Con boz de Sophar hara oyr Salvación....'<sup>72</sup>

Of these words, 'sofar' would seem the most likely to have been learned from authentic Jewish sources, 'Elofn' possibly but not certainly and 'Sabaot' least of all. But, what can be said of all of them is that, in the context of the presentation of a long line of heroes of the Old Testament, culminating in a Messiah of probable Jewish character, the author's intention in using them is to lend a positively Jewish feeling to the whole of the sequence. Thus, whatever the origin of the knowledge here displayed, its intention is avowedly Jewish and this is the most important conclusion that can be drawn.

Reference has been made to the possibility that Enríquez Gómez had access to a Jewish Prayer-book in Spanish. Further evidence can be adduced to support this suggestion, which if founded would indicate a direct acquaintance with Jewish liturgy. The first evidence of a link between his work and the Prayer-book comes in the Romance (ll.393-7), where the avenging armies of 'América' are described in these terms: 'La América ... alzará pendón, talando ... los mares del medio día'. The same phrase 'alzar pendón' occurs in the Kibbutz galuyoth prayer for the In-gathering of the Exiles, in the Daily Prayers: 'Tañe con sophar grande para nuestra alforia, y alga pendón para apañar nuestros cautiverios' (Orden de Oraciones, ed.cit., p.59). The context in each case is messianic: in the Romance, the raising of the ensign ushers in the train of events which reaches its climax in the Coming of the Messiah; in the Prayer-book, it is accompanied by the blowing of the Great Shofar and heralds the In-gathering of the Exiles, an event held to be a necessary prelude to the Coming.<sup>73</sup> One must always, however, allow for the possibility that the poet's source is biblical, in this case Isaiah 11:12, the origin of the reference to the ensign in the Kibbutz galuyoth prayer and part of the chapter which he would have known as messianic, as it contains Isaiah's vision of universal harmony ('The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb etc.' v.6). On the other hand, one notes the occurrence in the prayer cited of the word 'sofar', which suggests that this is perhaps the exact



source of Enríquez Gómez's acquaintance with that word (cf. above, p. 149). If this is the case, then it seems more than probable that Enríquez's source for the phrase 'alzar pendón' lies in the Prayer-book rather than the Bible.

The second case is in the prayer of Lope de Vera (Rom. 11.319-40), with which the second speech of the Romance begins and which bears some resemblance to the Amidah prayer in Jewish liturgy:

#### Amidah

A. Mis labios abriras y mi boca denunciará tu loor. Bendito tu .A. nuestro Dio y Dio de nuestros padres, Dio de Abraham, Dio de Ishac y Dio de Yahacob, el Dio el grande, el barragan y el temeroso, Dio alto galardonan de mercedes buenas crian el todo y membran mercedes de padres y trayen redemidor a hijos de sus hijos por su nombre con amor.

Rey ayudan, y salvan, y amparan. Bendito tu .A. amparo de Abraham. Tu barragan para siempre. A. abiviguan muertos, tu grande para salvar, hazien descender el rocío, governan vivos con merced, abiviguan muertos con piedades muchas: sustentan caydos, y medezinan enfermos, y soltan presos, y afirmante su verdad a durmientes en polvo. Quien como tu señor de barraganias? y quien se asemeja a ti? Rey matan, y abiviguan, y hazien hermoller salvacion; y fiel tu para abiviguar muertos. Bendito tu .A. abiviguan los muertos.

(Orden de Oraciones, ed. cit. pp. 189-90)

#### Romance

- Divino Señor, que asistes en el Trono en el excelso Tribunal que vio Isaías de los serafines bellos;

Dios de Abraham, Dios de Isaac, Dios de Jacob, Rey eterno, cuyo Nombre incircunscrito sólo consta de si mesmo;

Causa de todas las causas, Criador de tierra y cielo, sin principio y sin fin, y un solo Dios verdadero; esta vida que me distes por sacrificio te ofrezco y un corazón abrasado en las aras deste incendio:

como nos dice David,

es sacrificio perfecto.

Que muero por tu Ley, dicen, mas no entienden el conceto, que, si muero por quien vivo, ya vivo de lo que muero.

(Rom. 11.319-40)

There is an evident similarity between the two passages in that they are both prayers, both liturgical in tone. The structure of each is also similar, the section of the Amidah quoted being divided into two 'blessings' or subdivisions, both of which are mirrored in the Romance passage. These are analysed by A. Z. Idelsohn as follows:

1. Avoth - Fathers ... i.e. the three patriarchs who according to tradition recognized the eternal God; for this reason, we eulogize Him as 'God of our fathers', as the guiding force of the history of Israel in the past and as the Redeemer of Israel in the future... [section to 'amparo de Abraham']

2. Gevuroth - Powers ... relates God's wondrous deeds in providing the needs of every living being, and expresses the belief that His loving kindness extends after death. [section from 'Tu barragan...']<sup>74</sup>

Similarly, the Romance refers first to God as the God of the Patriarchs and then to his powers, principally as Creator of all, but it also goes on to develop the theme of life after death, which the hero hopes to attain through God's favour and on the basis of his adherence to the Law of Moses. The Amidah as a whole proceeds to the Kedushath hashem, the sanctification of the Name which includes the Kedusha (Isaiah 6:3 - 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts etc.'). The Romance does not develop in the same way, but, on the other hand, evokes the same passage of the Bible from which the Kedushah is drawn with its reference in the first lines quoted (11.319-322) to the vision of Isaiah of the Throne of God. It is also possible that the description of the avenging armies (1.393) reflects the idea of God as 'Lord of hosts', 'Dios de los ejércitos'.

A comparison of details reinforces the impression of a link between the two passages. There is the actual form of the reference to the Patriarchs, where the repetition of 'Dios' (in the Romance) would seem to be an intentional stylistic effect - he might easily have listed the names of the Patriarchs only or embellished them with descriptive epithets (cf. in Sansón, below) - modelled on a source which is either Exodus 3:15 or the Amidah which derives from it. In view of the way the passage develops (i.e. the life/death theme), the latter appears more likely. As for the descriptive phrases applied to God in this same first section (Avoth), the Romance simplifies these somewhat, preferring generalised expressions of the greatness of God to specific examples, viz:

a) 'el grande, el barragan y el temeroso' becomes 'Rey eterno'



summarising all these attributes applicable to a king: 'cuyo Nombre incircunscrito' also suggests limitless monarchic powers, but is introduced principally as an evocation of the theme of the unity of God expounded in the first speech of the poem ('un solo Dios verdadero', 1.330, similarly)

b) God as 'alto galardón de mercedes buenas' would seem to be exemplified by Lope de Vera's confidence in the reward of eternal life.

c) 'crian el todo' compares with 'Causa de todas las causas/Criador de tierra y cielo' and would seem to be the one case where Enríquez has picked out a specific attribute and filled it out in his own manner; again, though, it is intended as a summation of all the greatness of God's powers, evoking him as the prime mover of the universe from the beginning onwards.

d) As for the reference to 'trayen redemidor' etc. it is clear that the authors of the Spanish translation of the Hebrew had in mind, not God as the Redeemer (cf. Idelsohn), but the Messiah; thus the whole of the messianic prophecy which follows Lope de Vera's prayer is an expression of this interpretation.

In the Gevuroth section which follows in the Amidah, the principal emphasis is on the notion of God as granting mercies in death as well as in life. This is indicated by the final phrase 'resucitador de los muertos' which in accordance with the common practice in the liturgy encapsulates the theme of the whole blessing in the last words, but also by the many other phrases alluding to God as the bringer of salvation and life after death ('barragan para siempre', 'grande para salvar', 'haziente hermouecer salvación'; 'abiviguan muertos' twice, 'Rey matan y abiviguan', 'fiel tu para abiviguar muertos').<sup>75</sup> The Romance accordingly omits the references to God's 'daily miracles' - making the dew descend, healing the sick etc. - having already referred to his powers in phrases drawn from the Avoth section (1.325 ff.), and concentrates on the hope of life beyond death. The particular conceit which the poet employs (ll.337-40), that death is not death but life is one which is a commonplace both in Enríquez Gómez's

work and in Golden Age literature as a whole, so that it is possible to regard this as a resort to cliché on his part. On the other hand, it may well be a cliché which is designed to express in a familiar manner the principal idea borrowed from this second section of the Amidah prayer. Later on he develops the theme further, (ll.370-80) echoing the confidence expressed in the prayer in the saving power of God by the assertion of his hero: 'Desta materia caduca/ en el mundo el venidero/ veré al Señor, pues el polvo/ serafín es con aliento' (ll.373-6). The last clause ('el polvo' etc.) possibly reflects 'afirman su verdad a durmientes en polvo' in the Amidah.

It has to be admitted, however, that the incidence of close textual parallel between poem and source is not as high as in passages where the Bible is drawn upon, as for example in the use of Song of Songs in La culpa or in the lines which follow the passage quoted in the Romance (ll.341-68).<sup>76</sup> Nonetheless, on grounds of similarity of tone, purpose and structure and some parallels of phrase and idea, the prayer of Lope de Vera does appear to have been inspired by a reading of the Amidah prayer.

There is a passage in Sansón Nazareno which forms a close parallel with the section of the Romance just discussed: this is the final speech of Samson in which he requests God to restore his strength so that he may avenge himself and die for Israel and God's Law. (S.N.XIV 56ff). Because of its similarity to the other passage, being a) a prayer and declaration of faith in the God of Israel and b) the last words of the hero before death, it is worth looking at it further in order to see if there is any connection between it and the Amidah. The full text can be found in Part Two of this thesis but the relevant stanzas are as follows:

- Dios de mis padres, - dice - Autor eterno,  
De los tres mundos soberanos Atlante,  
Incircunscrito, santo y abeterno,  
Dios de Abrahám, tu verdadero amante,  
Dios de Isaac, cuyo altísimo gobierno  
En la divina Ley vive triunfante,  
Dios de Jacob, de bendiciones lleno,



Oye a Sansón, escucha al Nazareno.

Unico Criador incomprehensible,  
Señor de los ejércitos sagrado,  
Brazo de las batallas invencible,  
Por siglo de siglos venerado,  
Causa, sí, de las causas invisible,  
Perfeto Autor de todo lo criado  
Pequé, Señor, pequé, yo me condeno  
Misericordia pide el Nazareno.

Yo muero por la Ley que tú escribiste,  
Por los preceptos santos que mandaste,  
Por el pueblo sagrado que escogiste  
Y por los mandamientos que ordenaste;  
Yo muero por la patria que me diste  
Y por la gloria con que el pueblo honraste;  
Muero por Israel, y lo primero  
Por tu inefable Nombre verdadero.

(S.N.XIV.58-9,61)

It will be seen immediately that the tone is less liturgical than the Romance passage, more dramatic and heroic, in keeping with the whole of the poem, of which this is the well-known climax. God is not only 'Autor eterno' but 'Atlante', not only 'único Criador' but 'Señor de los ejércitos sagrado,/ Brazo de las batallas invencible,' the stress being on the heroic attributes of the Deity (and his rôle in Samson's martial affairs). The language as a whole tends to expand to fill the hendecasyllabic metre, swelling what is liturgical in the other poem to the proportions of the epic; for example, each of the Patriarchs is accompanied by a descriptive phrase - 'tu verdadero amante' of Abraham, and so on.

As a declaration of faith, the emphasis is similarly on faith in the God of Israel though in the context of opposition to the Philistines, rather than with the One God as the principal idea (God the Warrior cf. 'un solo Dios verdadero', Rom.1.330). However, the Romance's subsequent theme of life-after-death is replaced by the threefold commitment to God, the Law and Israel (S.N.XIV.61). The reason for this is that, unlike Lope de Vera, Samson cannot be certain of eternal reward, on account of his transgression of the Law, even though he may hope to gain it through

his self-sacrifice.

Comparing the passage with the Amidah directly, one observes a similarity in structure and content, but only up to a certain point. The invocation of the God of the Patriarchs is the same but dissipated with interpolated adjectives, as well as by the attributes of God appended ('Autor eterno,/ De los tres mundos soberanos Atlante etc.'). God, the Warrior, may correlate with 'el Dio el grande, el barragan y el temeroso' but, as has already been said, the epic element is the overriding one here. On the other hand, Sansón's plea for forgiveness (59 vii-viii) may echo the idea of God as the giver of mercies ('Dio alto galardonan de mercedes buenas'), and God the Creator, a strand which runs through the Sansón speech ('Autor eterno', 'Unico Criador', 'Causa de las causas', 'Perfeto Autor') recalls the phrase 'crian el todo' of the Amidah.

Outside the Avoth section, there seems little similarity between the two: God as the giver of life beyond death is not mentioned in the subsequent development, which concentrates on God, the Law and vengeance in its place. Nor is there any connection with the Kedushah, as there is no reference to Isaiah, except in the common phrase 'Señor de los ejércitos'. On the whole, then, there is less correlation between the Sansón Nazareno passage and the Amidah than between the Romance passage and the Amidah. Indeed, one observes many instances of the Sansón echoing the poet's other work directly: the adjective 'incircunscrito' in each case (Rom.1.325; S.N.XIV.58.iii); 'sólo consta de sí mismo' (Rom.1.326) cf. 'incomprehensible' (S.N. XIV.59.i); 'Causa de todas las causas' (Rom.1.327) cf. 'Causa... de las causas invisible' (S.N.XIV.59,v); 'Criador de tierra y cielo' (Rom.1.328) cf. 'Perfeto Autor de todo lo criado' (S.N.XIV.59.vi); 'muero por tu Ley' (Rom.1.337) cf. 'Yo muero por la Ley que tú escribiste' (S.N.XIV.61.i). Thus while the Amidah still stands as the probable



source of the prayer of Lope de Vera, it looks very much as if the final speech of Samson is a re-working in tragic-epic terms of the Romance prayer, exploring the same area of faith and martyrdom, rather than another version of the Amidah itself.

Antonio Enríquez Gómez was, as we know, well-read in the Bible, so that, while the Sansón and the Romance poems are still linked in the way suggested, the source of the latter might still be in the Old Testament - th cannot be ruled out. If so, then this example would not amount to proof that he knew the Prayer-book directly. At the same time, his knowledge of the word 'sofar' and of the Kibbutz galuyoth prayer does point in that direction, in which case it may still be that the Amidah influenced the general presentation of Lope de Vera's prayer, suggesting the kind of material to go in it and its style and tone, if not all its detailed contents. Although in the end these two examples may not provide incontrovertible evidence of the poet's direct acquaintance with the vernacular Jewish liturgy, given the availability of these sources and the apparent motivation of Enríquez Gómez towards employing them, they do carry us forward towards establishing the bridge between the theoretical possibility that he could have been a practising judaiser and the actual certainty that he was. For he had ample opportunity in Spain and in France, the sources of Jewish knowledge were there to be used, his family background was an influence in that direction and in his works there is some evidence of heterodoxy or the impulse towards it, antipathy and a lack of enthusiasm towards the Christianity, matched by a bias towards Judaism and the Old Testament. The Romance proclaims it, the other works do not deny it: Antonio Enríquez Gómez was a crypto-Jew, a Marrano in the fullest sense of the word.

Notes to Chapter Four.

1. See I.S.Révah, 'Un pamphlet contre l'Inquisition' , R.E.J., vol.121 (1962), 81 and J.Caro Baroja, Los Judíos en la España moderna , vol.1, p.450.
2. Caro Baroja, op.cit., vol.1, p.450.
3. Caro Baroja, op.cit., vol.1, p.415 ff.
4. Caro Baroja, op.cit., vol.1, p.453.
5. Caro Baroja, op.cit., vol.1, p. 452.
6. Révah, op.cit., p.82.
7. See Malvezin, Histoire des Juifs à Bordeaux, Bordeaux,1875,p.129.
8. British Museum Egerton MS.343, Información del licenciado Juan Bautista de Villadiego [Sevilla], 1636, fol.289<sup>r</sup>, para.15. Note paragraph 16 refers to Enríquez de Mora by name as among those who attempted to have another special Inquisitor arrested in Bordeaux in 1634.
9. Révah, op.cit., p.83
10. Archives Départementales de la Seine-Maritime (Notaire:Helye), 2 March, 1644.
11. Révah, op.cit.,p.113.
12. His son, Diego Enríquez Basurto, however, seems to have become disillusioned , to judge by his association with Juan de Prado, see Révah, 'Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado, Etudes juives I, Paris, 1959
13. Caro Baroja, op.cit., vol.1, ch.5-8
14. Isaac Cardoso became the first in Venice, Manasseh ben Israel the second in Amsterdam .
15. Isaac Cardoso: A study in 17th century Marranism and Jewish apologetics, Columbia, 1970, chapter 6, p.289 ff.
16. See C.Roth, A life of Manasseh ben Israel, Philadelphia, 1934, p.66
17. See Chapter One, above, p.5
18. On Jewish life in France in this period, see Caro Baroja, op.cit., vol.1, p.425-9 and C.Roth, 'Les Marranes à Rouen', R.E.J., vol.88 (1929), 113-37.



19. Caro Baroja, op.cit., vol 1, p.256, with special reference to Bayonne.
20. Roth R.E.J. 88, p.124 ff. Unfortunately he misreads his sources, C.Robillard de Beaurepaire, Bulletin de la Commission des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure, vol.6 (1882-4), p.444, and F.Farin, Histoire de Rouen, Rouen, 1788, vol.6 pp.186-91 and situates the chapel of the 'Cordeliers' in the church of St.Etienne de Tonneliers ('la chapelle des Cordeliers de St.Etienne...'). The data he adduces regarding epitaphs (see note 36 below) refers to the former, not the latter. However, many New Christians lived in the Parish of St. Etienne, so that Roth's conclusion may after all be substantially correct.
21. The first evidence is given in full by Caro Baroja, op.cit., vol 3, Appendix 36 (pp.550-1 and the second in vol. 2, p.425 ff.)
22. Orden de oraciones ... y la orden de Hanucah., Joris Trigg, Amsterdam, 5419 [1649], p.52. The first part of the Shemah and of Nuñez Silva's evidence relating to it only is given, in the interests of brevity and as it is sufficient to establish the point being made. Note that the first two lines of the Shemah are in transliterated Hebrew. Caro Baroja's transcription of the Silva version has been followed except for minor adjustments of punctuation.
23. Caro Baroja, op.cit, vol.1, p.132.
24. C.Roth, 'Les Marranes a Rouen', R.E.J., vol.88 (1929), 113-37.
25. Libro de Oracyones de todo el Anno, Yom Tob Atlas, Ferrara, 1552.  
Orden de Roshasanah y Kipur, Abraham Usque, Ferrara, 5313 1553 .
26. On this archaised language and its use as the medium for biblical study and discussion, see I.S.Révah, 'Histoire des parlers judéo-espagnols' Annuaire du Collège de France, 1970, 553-62 and C.Roth, 'The rôle of Spanish in the Marrano Diaspora', Studies in honour of I.González Llubera, Oxford, 1959, pp.299-308.
27. S.Seeligmann, Bibliographie en historie, Amsterdam, 1927, p.41 refers to Ishac Franco's Segunda parte del Sidur, Amsterdam, 1612, and argues that his edition of the Orden de Ros Hashanah y kipur of 1604 (published under the name of Franco de Mendoza) is in fact the 'Primera Parte' of

- the later work ; however, he declines to assign its provenance positively to Amsterdam, suggesting Antwerp as a possibility.
28. At least two editions of the Machzor for the New Year and four of the Daily Prayers appeared from 1617 to 1650, the period relevant to Enríquez Gómez.
  29. For example, the prayer quoted by Caro Baroja in evidence dated 4 July, 1632, beginning 'O, Adonay, si este mal esta en los tuétanos sacalo al queso', does not feature in the Prayer-book at all.
  30. Egerton MS.343, loc.cit.(see note 8, above).
  31. I.S.Révah, 'Manuel Fernandos Vilareal, adversaire et victime de l'Inquisition', Ibérica, vol.1 (1959), p.181 ff.
  32. C.Roth, Manasseh ben Israel, p.136; Roth also discusses the contacts between Vilareal and Manasseh ben Israel in connection with the former's Chronologia universal.
  33. A marriage contract between Manuel Fernandes Dias Vilareal, son of Louis Fernandes Vilareal (brother of Manuel Fernandes Vilareal?) and Maria das Neves.
  34. R.Guimarães, Summario de varia historia, Lisbon, 1872-5, vol.5, p.94.
  35. See list given by J.Caro Baroja, 'El proceso de Bartolomé Febos', Homenaje a Don Ramón Carande, p.72. Cáceres was imprisoned like Lamego by the French authorities.
  36. See above, p.109 and note 20. Roth (R.E.J. vol.88) puts the figure of suspected judaisers or their relatives at about half the total of twenty epitaphs which survive in Farin's transcriptions (op.cit.186-91)
  37. 'Cy gît honorable homme Emanuel Dias Sanchez, en son vivant Marchand, Bourgeois de Rouen, natif de Moura, du Royaume de Portugal, qui décéda le 13 Août, 1643 ', Farin, op.cit., p.187; he also gives the epitaph of Sanchez's wife, which is similarly lacking in christological references.
  38. R.E.J., vol.88, 134. L.D.Barnett, El libro de los Acuerdos, London, 1931, p.112 concerning the record of the K.K.Sahar Asamaim, the first Jewish Community in England (of Sephardi and Marrano origins), refers to a sum of £53 'given and ordered to be given to the widow of Angustin



Coronell' (1677). According to Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971, vol.5, col.975, Coronel had by that time forsaken Judaism and left England.

39. Second Edition, Madrid, 1946. The anthology contains Enríquez Gómez's Don Gregorio Guadaña, the short picaresque novel contained in El siglo pitagórico.
40. 'Si deseas verme filósofo moral, lee mis Academias,... si teólogo, mi Peregrino...' S.N.Prólogo, p.vii.
41. See Chapter Three above, p.85 and note 56.
42. For example, the discussion of 'siglos de siglos' (as to whether the ages of the world are co-eval or successive) and the phrase itself in Culpa, 82.18 derive from Augustine's work, ch.12.19 in the translation by Antonio de Rois y Rozas, Madrid, 1614; ample proof that Enríquez Gómez used this translation is provided by a comparison between Chapter 16.6 (pp.612-3) as it appears there and as quoted in La política angélica II, (ed.Révah), p.129.
43. Text reads 'su'.
44. This quotation and the one following are from: A.Cohen, Everyman's Talmud, London, 1932, p.96.
45. cf. Romance, 11.215-8: 'Sólo Dios, dice Mosseh,/ os perdonó en el desierto, castigando alguna parte / parte del pecado del becerro'. This conveys the idea of a continuing taint from this episode.
46. Concise Oxford Dictionary, 4th edition, Oxford, 1951, p.522 ('grace', noun,9).
47. cf. Ac.mor., p.263-4: 'Peregrino, biue para morir, toma al camino / de la ley en la mano, que con ella / será benigna tu contraria Estrella' (cf. Eccles.12.13).
48. Perhaps also 'los escogidos' (line 8 of quotation) refers to Israel, despite the marginal note designating them as 'los fieles con gracia'.
49. The argument below is concerned principally with the poetic works of Enríquez Gómez, but such study as has been made of the other writings does not lead one to opposing conclusions; reference is made to these

other works where relevant, but only to those known to be by the poet i.e. excluding the Zárate plays but including the Loa a los siete planetas.

50. R.E.J., vol.121 (1962),101
51. Obras completas de Pedro Calderón de la Barca, ed.A.Valbuena Prat,Madrid, 1952, vol.3, p.1063.
52. Obras escogidas de Lope de Vega, ed. F.C.Sainz de Robles, Madrid, 1966, vol.3, pp.84-5.
53. A.D.H.Fishlock 'Lope de Vega's "La Hermosa Ester" and Pinto' Delgado's "Poema de la Reyna Ester": a comparative study', Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, vol.32 (1955),p.82.
54. Cornelius a Lapide Commentarius in Josue, Judicum, Ruth, IV libros Regum et II Paralipomenon, Antwerp, 1617,p.160.
55. Felipe Godínez, Aman y Mardocheo, Comedias escogidas, Parte 5, Madrid, 1654,p.57
56. Juan Pérez de Montalbán, El valiente Nazareno, Comedias del Dotor Juan Perez de Montalvan, Valencia, 1652, vol.2, fol.93<sup>r</sup> Sueltas of the 17th and 18th centuries refer to it as El divino Nazareno Sansón
57. Of the works listed by the poet in S.N.Prólogo, pp.vii-viii, four out of twenty-two plays written appear to be on Old Testament themes, (Palestina, Nembrot, Abigail, Salomón), three of the nine other works (Culpa, Sansón, Torre) and three of the five projected works(Torre, part 2, Amán, Josué).
58. F.Pierce, La Poesía épica del Siglo de Oro (2nd edition, trans. J.C.Cayol de Bethencourt), Madrid,1968, pp.327-62(Appendix A: Catálogo de poemas épicos, 1550-1700).
59. The others in the list are: Caudabilla y Perpiñán, La Historia de Thobias (Barcelona, 1615); Francisco de Borja, Iacobo y Rachel (Madrid, 1642); and Manuel de Salinas i Lizana, La Casta Susana (Huesca, 1651)
60. E.Glaser, 'Miguel da Silveira's "El Macabeo"', Revue des études portugaises et de l'Institut Français en Portugal, vol.21(1959), 31;



declares: '...one finds no grounds for questioning Silveira's sincere espousal of Catholicism.' However, J. Caro Baroja, 'El proceso de Bartolomé Febos, pp. 5-6, does not seem so sure, since he links his name with that of Fernando as supplying dubious testimony regarding Febos' good Christian character.

61. See I. S. Révah, Spinoza et le Dr. Juan de Prado (see above, note 12) p. 24 and pp. 74-6, where he reproduces the poem of Miguel de Barrios (Coro de las Musas, Brussels, 1672) attacking Enríquez Basurto for his association with Juan de Prado (it is presented as if written by the latter).
62. It is of interest to note that Yerushalmi says much the same of Isaac Cardoso (op. cit. p. 190).
63. For example, 'El pasagero' (Ac. mor. pp. 18-33) with its refrains of 'Pues todo es vanidad de vanidades' (cf. Eccles. 1.2) and 'no quieras gouernar por vanidades, [d]esmanzipa de ti las mocedades' (cf. Eccles. 12.1: 'Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth'); also, 'Al engaño de la naturaleza' (pp. 258-65) 'Estudié quando moço muchas letras' (cf. Eccles. 12.12: 'much study is a weariness of the flesh') and 'debaxo del sol, nada/ hallé de nuevo.../ todo lo hallé con vanidad, y agrabios,/ como me diçe el sabio de los sabios, debaxo del Planeta luminoso/ no hallé firmeça, gusto ni reposo' (cf. Eccles. 1.9-14).
64. Biblical quotations in Spanish are used where it is of interest to compare the language of the poem with that of its source and are taken from the translation of Cassiodoro de la Reyna, Basle, 1569. Enríquez Gómez knew insufficient Hebrew to use the Hebrew Bible (a few words at most cf. p. 149 ff) and he does not appear to have used the Vulgate only a few short biblical quotations are given in Latin (e.g. 'Castigans castigauit me Dominus, & mortu non tradidit me', Psalm 118.18 in Ac. mor., Preface, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>), probably derived from intermediate sources, and all substantive ones appear in Spanish (see below, p. 147, for example from Política angélica.) As between the Reyna Bible and the almost identical version of Cipriano de Valera, (Amsterdam, 1602) the

only indication that he used the first lines in the fact that Reyna places all the biblical Books of Wisdom (the works attributed to Solomon) together, while Valera places Ben Sira and Wisdom in the Apocrypha. Enríquez himself seems to view these works as a body, judging by his references to Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ben Sira and Wisdom in 'La Verdadera Philosophía Moral' and his remark 'el príncipe de la sabiduría escribió cinco mil versos' (S.N. Prólogo, p.i).

65. See previous note.
66. A.D.H.Fishlock, 'The Poems of Juan Pinto Delgado', University of London (Ph.D. thesis), 1952, p.16.
67. Orden de Oraciones, ed.cit. (note 22, above), p.56.
68. Missale Romanum, Rome, 1950, p.287.
69. Cornelius a Lapide, op.cit. (note 54 above), p.162.
70. See F.Secret, Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance, Paris, 1964, p.119.
71. Cornelius a Lapide, Commentaria in duodecim prophetas minores, Antwerp, 1625, pp.235-6, 241.
72. Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur, Joris Trigg, Amsterdam, 5412[1652], p.153.
73. Cf. Manasseh ben Israel, Esperanza de Israel, Amsterdam, 1650, whose main theme is the dispersal of the Tribes throughout all lands prior to their being gathered together by the Messiah ben Joseph.
74. A.Z.Idelsohn, Jewish Liturgy, New York, 1967 (first edition 1932) pp.92-3
75. The original interpretation was that it referred to the Resurrection of the Dead. The Pharisees specifically included a reference to it because of their disagreement with the Sadducees on this point.
76. See discussion above p.144-5.



Chapter Five: 'Sansón Nazareno', the poem and its source in the Bible.

Sansón Nazareno is the major poetic work of Antonio Enríquez Gómez: no other approaches it in length nor in its power of sustained dramatic imagination. Miguel de Barrios picked out the poem as the one, in addition to the Romance, for which Enríquez Gómez should be known (see Chapter 3, p. 56) and the poet himself seems to have taken the same view, for in his Prólogo he declares:

Si deseas verme filósofo moral, lee mis Academias; si político,  
La Política angélica; si teólogo, mi Peregrino; si estadista,  
Luis dado de Dios; si poeta, esta poema... (S.N. Prólogo, p.viii)

Though it may be stylistic convenience to refer to the Academias, for example, as 'philosophy' rather than poetry (though it contains the best evocations of his feelings about his exile), it is noteworthy that it is on the Sansón that he stakes his claim to the title of poet.

It should also command our attention as a work which elaborates a theme drawn from the Old Testament, in general because of the prominent place the poet accords it as a source (see Chapter Four) and in particular because he declares in his statement of poetic principles regarding the epic in his preface to the poem that biblical themes are superior to all others - and by his giving pride of place to Silveira's El Macabeo and his lack of esteem for epics on New Testament subjects it is clear his preference is for the Old Testament. These factors alone should lead us to see the work as an expression of his Jewish feeling and sense of identity with Judaism and the nation of Israel.

More than that, it is in many ways a recasting of the Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente on a grander scale, arising from the same emotional base but broadening out to encompass the national and epic-heroic dimension. To the hope for messianic deliverance and the hope for resolution of a personal crisis of conscience and identity is added the hope of national redemption from tyranny and oppression: the poet becomes through his poem

the mouthpiece of that hope, indeed of all three hopes, and a bringer of comfort to those with whom he has chosen to identify. His heroes, Lope de Vera and Samson, are alike champions of Israel and defenders of monotheism, embodied in the Law, against paganism and idolatry. Lope employs theological argument (which has a lesser place in Sansón Nazareno), while Samson uses physical might. Both die a martyr's death, the one threatening destruction upon his persecutors, the other achieving it through his end, and both preface their last moments with a prayer of submission to God and declaration of faith in his mercy. Taking together the central figures and the themes of each poem, there can be little doubt that they spring from the same inspiration and from the same urge to express religious and group allegiance, as well as from the same moment of decision and crisis.<sup>1</sup> Let us now turn to Sansón Nazareno and examine what it has to say in detail, with the Romance al divín mártir and the other evidence of his religious attitudes particularly in mind.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### The narrative content of 'Sansón Nazareno'.

The first task is to describe the subject-matter of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's poem, as an aid in the ensuing discussion, and then to compare what it has to say with its source in the Bible.

Sansón Nazareno is an epic poem in fourteen cantos and relates the life of Samson from his birth to his death as told in the Book of Judges, Chapters 13-16. Book I of the poem introduces Samson and recounts his birth, origins, early feats etc. and his harangue to the Senate of Israel in which he urges action against the Philistine rulers. He encounters Dalestina in a wood. The rest of this canto and the four subsequent ones (Books II-V) are concerned with this first love-affair of Samson's: his request to marry Dalestina (as Enríquez calls the Timnaite), his father's



agreement, the arrangements for the marriage, the slaying of the lion on the way to Timnah (II); the discovery of the bees' nest in the dead lion, the marriage, the riddle, the Philistines' pressure on Dalestina to discover the answer from Samson (III); Dalestina's pleas and Samson's acquiescence, the Philistines' answer, Samson's anger and slaying of Philistines to pay the prize, his repudiation of his wife (IV); his abortive attempt to regain her, his revenge of burning the Philistine crops (using pairs of foxes with lighted brands tied to their tails), the Philistines' burning of Dalestina and family; Samson's swearing of revenge (V). The resultant situation is one of Samson roused against the Philistines with both a national and a personal motive for vengeance. Book VI develops this by relating two battles of Samson and a small band of warriors against, first, the rocky fastness of Dagón and, second, a fortress in the area of Timnah ('Tamá'). This is followed in Book VII by the hero's vision of the heroes of Israel and the Messiah, which endorses Samson's rôle as leader of Israel in the eyes of heaven. Samson is then demanded by the Philistines (VIII) as a prisoner to pay for his crimes against them: Zabulón goes to find him in his retreat at the rock of Etam, argues with him as to whether caution or confrontation is preferable and eventually brings him down to the Philistines; the hero breaks his bonds and slays a thousand of the enemy; a general battle ensues from which Samson emerges victorious, though not before a terrible thirst has come upon him which is requited when in answer to his prayer God causes a spring to gush from the ass's jaw he uses as a weapon. At this point Samson is confirmed as leader of the Israelites, this time in the eyes of men. Book IX sees the desperation of the Philistines: Fitón, priest of Balonta, consults the idol of Dagón who offers the king hope of victory in battle against Samson. Cosmic signs - two comets in the form of a serpent (Philistines) and a lion (Israelites) in battle - foretell of Samson's victory, however, which duly comes to pass. Thus Samson's supremacy over the Philistines in the military sphere is confirmed.

The Philistines change tack, following the magic and astrological prognostications of Fitón on Mount Gilboa and turn to beautiful women to bring about Samson's downfall (X). The latter part of the canto relates the first onslaught, Samson's encounter with the prostitute in Gaza, who waylays him as he reconnoitres the city. Samson escapes from the ambush set for him and carries off the gates of the city on his shoulders. (Pride raises its head as he boasts of his prowess and neglects to thank God.) From here on (Book XI onwards), the story of Samson and Delilah (here 'Dalida') occupies the stage: to begin with, how he discovers a kerchief in a stream and traces its passage back to find its owner bathing in a pool, his rescuing of Dalida from drowning, his visit to her home and eventual falling in love with her. Book XII opens with Dalida's return from the royal palace, where she has been persuaded by the offer of riches to try to discover the source of his strength; this she sets about doing at once. Samson gives her a false answer which she tests, as a result of which he leaves her. In Book XIII her triumph is seen as Samson gives way to her persistent pleas and tells her his secret; she cuts his hair and he is taken prisoner to Balonte who orders his eyes to be put out. The last canto (XIV) shows the assembly of the Philistines to celebrate their victory: Balonte mocks Samson, who defends himself and his God. Samson prays to God, his strength is restored and he triumphs over his enemies at the cost of his own life.

To summarize: the first five cantos (I-V) are concerned with the love affair of Samson and the Timnaite and its consequences; the next four (VI-IX) deal with Samson's ascendance to leadership of the Israelites and his dominance over the Philistines; Book X is the turning point as love-affairs replace battles, first with the prostitute in Gaza (X) and, second, with Dalida, who brings his eventual downfall (XI-XIV). The poem falls into three roughly equal parts, two concerned with love-affairs, disposed symmetrically about the central third concerned with military matters.



'Sansón Nazareno' and the biblical source: One may see from the above synopsis that Enríquez Gómez's poem largely follows the story narrated in the Bible. As to the precise relationship between the two, this can be shown by indicating the areas of the source drawn on in each canto and the particular omissions, additions and deviations undertaken by the poet. In the following, it is to be assumed, unless it is otherwise stated, that each element in the source is reproduced in Enríquez Gómez's version with no change function or relative order of presentation. The term 'additions' is used to indicate ideas of a substantial introduced into the poem, not what may be regarded as legitimate or necessary literary elaboration; for example, the presentation of Judges 13.25: 'Y el espíritu de Iehova lo comenzó a tomar...' in terms of invented feats of Herculean proportions or the full depiction of the emotional devices employed by Dalida - tears, expressions of love, threat of suicide etc. - to ensnare Samson (XIII) and, throughout, the filling out of dialogues and descriptions of settings indicated in the source.<sup>2</sup>

Book I: Samson and Dalestina - Judges 13.24-14.1 (birth of Samson, divine protection, descent to Timnah and meeting with Timnaite); some allusions to Judges 13.1 (rule of Philistines for forty years, S.N.I.5; as punishment for Israel's sins, I.28), 13.2 (barrenness of mother, I.7), 13.7 (dedication of Samson to God from womb, I.7) and 14.4 (God as seeking occasion to liberate Israel, I.29)

Omission: The account of the angel's prophecy to Samson's mother of an end to her barrenness, his instructions as to the upbringing of Samson and the jealousy of Manoach (Samson's father) towards the angel (Judges 13.3-23) is omitted in its entirety, such that the poet's narrative can properly be considered as beginning with Judges, Chapter 14. Avoidance of the possibility of an analogy with Jesus and the desire to begin in media res (in accordance with Horacian principles) would appear to be the reasons for this choice.

Additions: Samson's address to the Senate and the manner of his encounter

with Dalestina are the poet's own invention, as is the name given to the Timnaite.

Deviations: Enríquez Gómez does not refer to the particular place-names given in Judges 13.25, (Zorah and Eshtaol) but refers generally to Samson's feats and activities against the Philistines in his early years (1.8-14). Manoach becomes Emanuel, following the example of Montalbán's El valiente Nazareno.

Book II: - Judges 14.2-6 (Samson's request for marriage, opposition and concession of parents, descent of Samson and parents to Timnah, slaying of lion, meeting with wife-to-be)

Omission: No reference is made to Samson's mother in the discussion over the marriage to a Philistine (II.17, Emanuel only) although her presence is implied later by 'Parte con su familia el noble anciano...' (also 'padres' III.2).

Deviations: No mention is made of the precise analogy of Samson's tearing of the lion in two 'como quien despedaga un cabrito' (14.6), the poet preferring his own poetic images. Judges 14.7. reads: 'Y viniendo habló a la muger que auia agradado à Samson'; while there might be ambiguity here as to who the subject of 'viniendo' is, Reyna's note: '1. su padre. concertó el casamiento' indicates that it is to be taken as Samson's father (cf. A.V. which points to Samson). Enríquez Gómez follows Reyna but instead of portraying this as a separate event combines the idea of his father making the marriage agreement with the visit of Samson and his parents to Timnah (Judges 4.5). Consequently also, the reference in Judges 14.10 to a later visit of the father to the bride ('Y vino su padre à la muger') is omitted as superfluous.

Book III: The Wedding - Judges 14.8-15 (discovery of the honey in the lion, wedding, riddle, suborning of wife)

Omissions: As we have already noted, no reference is made to the father's later visit to Timnah (Judg. 14.10), nor to the Philistines' threats to



Dalestina as taking place on the seventh day (Judg.14.15), as this seems to conflict with the statement that their fruitless deliberations lasted only three days, as well as with the later reference to Dalestina pleading with Samson for the whole seven days of the feast (Judg.14.17). The seventh day probably refers here to the Sabbath, but the poet prefers to avoid confusion by eliminating all references to the seventh day or seven days (cf. Josephus, ed.cit., V.8, para.6).

Additions: Enríquez portrays a discussion between Samson and his bride concerning true religion (III.10-14), which has obvious thematic importance (see following chapter) and Dalestina's dilemma in which love and national loyalties conflict (III.53-64).

Deviations: The wedding celebrations are made the responsibility of others (see III.16 'los zagales'), not Samson himself as Judges 14.10, and the 'thirty companions' or groomsmen become simple guests (III.26).

Book IV: The Riddle answered - Judges 14.16-20 (wife's entreaties, Samson's revelation, the riddle answered, Samson's anger, his killing of thirty Philistines in order to pay his debt).

Omissions: There is no reference to Samson returning home at the end of the events of this canto, but this is remedied in the one following (V). Instead, he retires to Etam, in keeping with his rôle as solitary hero and man of God. The remarriage of the hero's wife is not mentioned at this point (see Judges 14.21) but is integrated into the dialogue of Samson with her father in his version of Judges 15.3.

Additions: Enríquez Gómez shows Samson's repudiation of his wife (IV.33 & 53) which is only implicit in the statement of Judges 14.20 that she was given to another.

Deviations: Dalestina's reproach that Samson told the answer to the riddle to his parents but not to her is repeated, (see IV.5!¿De mí ocultas secreto..?) but his response - in effect, 'Why should I tell you, if I did not them?' - is turned completely round to become a proof of his love, in that he tells her what he did not even tell his parents (IV.17). In keeping with this more

amenable attitude Samson is shown as giving way to his wife at once, rather than after several days of her pleading and weeping (Judg.14.17: 'Y ella lloró delante de él los siete días que ellos tuvieron vanqueto'). This however is an improvement on the source, since the Bible also refers to the Philistines approaching Samson's wife and Samson's acquiescence as taking place on the seventh day (Judg.14.15 & 17). At the same time, this conjunction of events in the source must have suggested to the poet the hero's rapid accession to his wife's demands.

Book V: Samson's revenge - Judges 15.1-7 (Samson's return, wife's re-marriage, her father's offer of second daughter, Samson's revenge with foxes, burning of wife and father, Samson's threat of further revenge).

Omissions: There is no reference to Samson's gift of a kid as a peace-offering to his wife (Judg.15.1), perhaps as it is thought inappropriate for a heroic figure. The suggestion in Judges 15.7 that Samson sees his further revenge as an end of the matter ('...y despues cessaré') is omitted also, as being contrary to the idea of the battles of Book VI as the beginning of Samson's developing national rôle.

Additions: Samson is described as returning home to prepare his revenge by means of the foxes. However, this may be regarded as a variation on the source in view of the omission of such a reference from the end of Book IV. It allows for a first example of the hero enlisting the aid of other Israelites (i.e. his first step to leadership, V.25) as well as for some bucolic description.

Deviations: Enríquez presents the Timanite's second husband as a former lover; rather than as one of the thirty companions whose rôle, as we have seen, has been changed (see above Book III, Deviations): Dalestina described him as 'un necio Adonis que desprecio ausente' in Book I.63. However, this is one possible interpretation of the original text.<sup>3</sup> The reference to the 'time of the wheat harvest' (Judg.15.1) is removed from the beginning of these events to fit in with the bucolic passage mentioned above.



Book VI: Samson's battles with the Philistines - This canto is an elaboration of Judges 15.8, which reads: 'Y hiridles de gran mortandad pierna y muslo'. The events themselves owe much to contemporary examples of the epic genre (see Chapter Seven), conceived as an expansion of what is already given in the source. Encouragement to develop the source in this way no doubt came from Josephus who introduces the Ramat Lehi incident by: 'Now when Samson had slain many Philistines in the plain country...' (Bk.V.ch.8, para.8), which also provides the location for the second battle Enríquez presents.

Book VII: Samson's vision - this draws on the other half of the same verse quoted as the source of the previous canto: 'y decendió y assento en la cueva de la peña de Etam.' (Judg.15.8). It is to this place that the hero retires to consider events and plan his future revenge and that Zabulón finds him at the beginning of Book VIII. Beyond this the connection between poem and source is somewhat nebulous, and the vision itself derives from Tasso and Silveira. Nonetheless, one can say that the poet has exploited an opportunity provided by the source in order to accomodate an excursus derived from elsewhere, rather than contrive or invent non-biblical circumstances in which it may occur.

Book VIII: Incident at Ramat Lehi- Judges 15.9-19 (Philistines advance to Lehi, demand Samson, protest and acquiescence of Judeans; 3000 Judeans go to Etam, discussion with Samson, promise not to kill Samson themselves; Samson brought to Philistines, breaks bonds, kills 1000 Philistines, thirst, prayer and spring from bone).

Omissions: no allusion is made to the tribal difference between Samson, a Danite and those that seek to hand him to the Philistine who are Judeans, the purpose being to stress the hero's rôle as representative of the Israelite cause. Unlike in Judges 15.17, further, Samson is not shown discarding his ass's jaw weapon, logically enough since the spring which comes to slake his thirst emanates from the jaw itself, according to both

Reyna and Authorised Version translations. This clears up an inconsistency, therefore, arising from a confusion at this point between Ramat Lehi, the name of the place, meaning 'the hill of the jaw-bone', and 'lehi' designating Samson's improvised weapon. Not surprisingly, there is no reference to the name of the place from which the spring arises, Ein-hakkore ('the well of him who calls[on God]), in view of the confusion just mentioned, and of the poet's own lack of knowledge of Hebrew. Finally, Enríquez Gómez omits Judges 15.20, which relates that Samson judged Israel twenty years, since it refers to the end of his career and is out of place in connection with an incident which presents Samson in the process of establishing leadership over all Israel.

Additions: Enríquez Gómez gives the number of Philistines as 12,000 (VIII.4) a figure not found in the source. The development of Samson's fight with the Philistines into a general battle is also his own invention.

Deviations: while retaining the essence of the Judeans' argument '¿No sabes tu que los Philisteos dominam [sic] sobre nosotros?' in Zabulón's argument, he alters the tenour of Samson's reply in order to present the conflict as one between caution and action; thus Samson does not defend his deeds as justifiable revenge but urges further war against the enemy, offering to face them with only a hundred soldiers. In inventing the character of Zabulón, the poet also personalizes the argument given in Judges 15.11. Samson's reaction to his captivity is presented not as the sudden influence of the 'spirit of the Lord' (Judg 15.14), but as an action vaguely premeditated. (This view also provides some explanation of Samson's agreement to be bound.) At the same time his feat of strength is seen as due to God's protection as all through the poem. Samson's thirst is set in the midst of the second, imagined, phase of the fighting, but this is consistent with the occurrence of this incident following his slaying of the thousand Philistines.

Book IX: the Cavern of Dagón and major battle - this is the only canto of the poem which can be said to have positively no source in the



Book of Judges. Its function is dramatic, to present Samson in military triumph over the Philistines and over pagan religion. In addition, it enables the poet to introduce a traditional 'hell-scene', in a way which interrupts but does not distort the biblical narrative.

Book X: Fitón's prophecies; Samson in Gaza - the first part has no biblical source but is really the aftermath of the preceding canto and prepares for the switch from warfare to love-affairs in the story of Samson. The second part derives from Judges 16.1-3 (Samson's visit to Gaza, the harlot, ambush by Philistines, Samson's escape with gates of city on his shoulders).

Omissions: none.

Additions: Samson's reason for going to Gaza is put as reconnaissance(X.33). The Bible does not say what his reason is, though Rabbinic and Patristic interpretations suggest it is lust that drives him there.<sup>4</sup> Enríquez's view fits in with the idea of Samson as being lured from his true path. Samson's skirmish with the ambush party (Enríquez gives the number as 200) is a logical addition to the source.

Deviations: Judges 16.2 does not indicate precisely who tells the Philistines of Samson's presence in the city, while Enríquez makes it clear that it is the prostitute who alerts them: this indicates the duplicity of women (see also her warning to Samson,X.47, which serves as a premonition of Dalida's behaviour in Book XII). Samson is shown as lying awake unable to sleep and attacking the Philistines when alerted by the prostitute's words, rather than as rising early and pre-empting the attack which the enemy are waiting until dawn to launch (Judg.16.2-3)

Book XI: Samson and Dalida, the encounter - Judges 16.4. Most of this canto is an imaginative construction of Samson's meeting with his third mistress, there being no details given in the Bible beyond her place of abode. The use of the name 'Dalida' for 'Delilah' follows Reyna and ultimately the Septuagint (cf. also Montalbén in his play, El valiente Nazareno)

Book XII: the secret probed - Judges 16.5-10 (the woman's agreement with the Philistines to discover the secret of Samson's strength, her entreaties, his first false answer, hiding of Philistines, Samson's breaking of the bonds, Delilah's scorn)

Omissions: Of greatest importance is the poet's decision to present only the first attempt of Dalida to gain Samson's secret and to omit the second and third (Judges 16.10-14). While this may lose some of the cumulative effect which the relation of successive incidents would bring (as in the Bible), this procedure avoids repetitiousness and provides the opportunity for detailed study of the characters and the interplay between them and of the moral dilemma facing the hero. Enríquez points the moral that by his first false answer he has as good as submitted to her, rendering the account of the other attempts superfluous. Of minor importance is the omission of the detail that it is the Philistines who provide Dalida with the rope to bind Samson perhaps to suggest greater direct activity by Dalida (cf. cutting the hair herself, see below XIII, Deviations)

Additions: The poet indulges in an outburst of moral indignation against the corrupting effects of gold or money (XII.41-8) as a commentary on Dalida's duplicitous actions. This lends a sense of dramatic anticipation to events which the reader knows will not immediately lead to the hero's downfall as well as indicating that the seeds of that downfall are being sown here. Finally, Samson is shown actually withdrawing from Dalida's presence (XII.58), which gives emphasis to his temporary resistance to his mistress.

Deviations: The presentation of the pact between Delilah and the Philistines is amended to fit in with the structure already established in the poem, according to which the Philistines are ruled by a single king and not by a federation of five overlords.<sup>5</sup> Thus Dalida deals with Balonte and not with 'the lords of the Philistines' (Judges.16.5). As a consequence also the sum offered to her becomes a thousand shekels (XII.12), roughly the amount of 'eleven hundred pieces of silver' offered by each of the lords in Judges 16.5. In any case, the poet had no indication of the precise total



offered since the source does not state how many lords there were supposed to be. The addition of the priest Avino, who adds the final touches to the deal (hinting at marriage to the king, denying that Balonte's approach to her implies his weakness etc.), reflects an oblique dramatic approach which presents the negotiation as having been completed as the canto opens. One other change in this canto is in the presentation of the one attempt on Samson's secret which the poet does represent. There seems to be some attempt on his part to generalize its details in order to encompass the other two attempts: instead of 'siete sogas recientes' (Judges 16.7) we find 'siete lazos recientes' which may cover both 'maromas' in Judges 16.11 (essentially the same meaning as 'sogas') and 'tela' in Judges 16.13. The retention of the number seven is justified by the occurrence of 'siete guedejas de mi cabeza' in relation to the third account (Judges 16.13), while the exclusion of the additional detail from Judges 16.7: 'que aun no estan enjutas' generalizes the description further.

Book XIII: Samson's betrayal - Judges 16.15-21 (the wearying of Samson, the secret told, his hair shorn; his awakening and capture, his eyes put out, imprisonment).

Omissions: The main omission between the events of Books XII and XIII has already been mentioned, namely that of the second and third attempts on the secret. Elsewhere, there is no reference to the 'seven locks' of Samson's hair (Judges 16.19). This number, being a magic one, may be symbolic of his powers or the biblical phrase may simply mean 'all his hair'. Enríquez Gómez seems to have understood the latter, by his reference to 'la madeja de oro fino' (XIII.54. Samson's statement 'Esta vez saldré como las otras y escaparmehe', Judges 16.20) is not represented, although the description of his realization of his situation at the sight of his shorn hair and coming to an abrupt halt (XIII.59) suggests that he had begun by reacting in his normal way. No mention is made of Samson being bound 'con cadenas de hierro' or being set to the humiliating womanly task of grinding in the prison house (Judges.16.21, also omitted by Josephus.)

Additions: The only additions beyond normal poetic expansion (e.g. Dalida's devices to extract the secret) are found in the poet's warnings to young men to be wary of women (XIII.55-7) following Dalida's cutting of Samson's hair, and Samson's speech of regret and denunciation of his mistress which closes the canto.

Deviations: Judges 16.19 refers to Dalila calling a man whom she orders to cut off Samson's hair; Enríquez portrays Dalida herself as carrying out the deed, as an indication of her perfidiousness (cf. 'la ramera', X.49). Secondly, the explanation 'no sabiendo que Iehoua se avia ya apartado de el' (Judg.16.20) reinforces the hero's statement 'Esta vez saldré como las otras, y escaparmehe', suggesting that he is not aware of what has happened until engaging in combat. Enríquez's Samson realizes almost immediately his plight. This indicates greater perceptiveness on the hero's part which is a necessity if the moral dimension of the character is to be convincing. Thirdly the blinding of Samson is removed from the description of his capture and shown as taking place on the orders of Balonte after (cf. before, Judg.16.21) he has been taken to Gaza. This accords with the monarchic picture of the Philistines and lends a sense of formality to Samson's punishment underlining this moment of triumph for the Philistines which is soon to be reversed.

Book XIV: Samson's death - Judges 16.23-30 (assembly of Philistines to sacrifice Samson, thanksgiving to Dagón, taunting of Samson, his plea to God, pulling down of temple pillars, death of Samson and Philistines).

Omissions: no reference is made to the burial of Samson by his family (Judg. 16.31) in order to end on a note of triumph.

Additions: The poet adds the idea of Dalida becoming the object of Philistine praise and worship alongside Dagón and this reflects the rôle of women in Samson's downfall. Otherwise, there is only the minor incident of Samson being placed on Balonte's throne and given a stick as a sceptre, in mockery of his fallen greatness, but this may be regarded as part of the 'making sport' mentioned in Judges 16.25,27.



Deviations : The description of the house in which the events of the last part of Samson's story take place and of the assembled company is brought forward to the beginning of the canto, instead of prior to Samson's prayer (Judges 16.27) - a natural piece of dramatic reorganization. (A minor detail in this description is that the poet makes the number 3000 of Judges 16.27 refer only to men rather than men and women 'en el techumbre', XIV.10). Conversely, the reference to Samson's hair growing comes not at the beginning of the section (cf. Judges 16.22) but with the later description of the hero as he emerges to stand before the Philistines (st.27). The words of the lords of the Philistines (Judges 16.23: 'Nuestro dios entregó en nuestras manos a Samson nuestro enemigo.') are placed in the mouth of a priest (possibly Secafón or Avino). At the end he turns his attentions to Dalida (XIV 22-3) and urges the crowd to echo his cry of 'Dalida viva!' This provides the repetition by the crowd of the lords' word (Judges 16.24 cf.23), but with a different content. The crowd's addition of 'y a destruydor de nuestra tierra, el qual auía muerto a muchos de nosotros', that is to say the reference to Samson's deeds, is taken up by Balonte in his speech directed at Samson (st.28 ff.). The confrontation of Balonte and Samson is itself an epic and dramatic invention, but Balonte's tone of mockery indicates that it is intended as the poet's equivalent of the calling upon Samson to make sport (Judges 16.25 & 27). Samson's vain attack that follows and in which he casts away his stick and falls upon the floor (st.53) may be seen in the same context - the humiliation of the hero. The placing of him on the throne at the beginning of the scene may be similarly viewed. This last example brings about a change as compared with the source in that Samson is not placed immediately between the pillars of the temple (Judges 16.25): later, as in Josephus's version, it is he who asks to be placed there. This request is made (st.56) to a guard rather than a lad ('moço' Judges 16.26). Samson's last words: 'Muera mi anima con los Philisteos' (Judges 16.30) are merged with his prayer for God's blessing of Judges 16.28.

The first observation which can be made is that very few verses of the biblical account are omitted in their entirety. Of the 96 verses in Judges 13-16, Enríquez Gómez uses some 68; but of those omitted twenty alone are accounted for by the exclusion of events prior to Samson's birth (Judges 13.3-23 excluding a partial reference to 13.7) and five by the omission of the second and third attempts of Dalida on Samson's secret. Excepting these two cases, only three stanzas fail to be represented in the poet's text; these are: 15.17 (the casting away of the jaw-bone), 15.20 (Samson's twenty years as judge of Israel) and 16.31 (the burial of Samson). Of these, the first two are decisions of logic - if the spring which slakes Samson's thirst is to emanate from his ass's jaw-bone, it is logical that he should not discard it at an earlier point and a reference to the total length of Samson's leadership may be more appropriately made at the end of events rather than in the middle of them (it is in any case repeated in Judges 16.31). The third example represents a dramatic or literary choice, the desire to end on a note of triumph, that is to say with the reference to the hero's death and his achievement in slaying the Philistines and liberating his people (cf. Judg. 16.30). The idea of eliminating an event in which the hero is not an active participant may also be operative, in which case this balances naturally the elimination of events prior to his birth. Although we have already suggested that this latter, major omission is based on theological motives - the avoidance of christological analogies - the reason is also dramatic in that it concentrates attention on the hero who is seen immediately in action. As for the other major omission, concerning the attempts on Samson's secret, the reason is again literary, the poet opting for the benefits of in-depth presentation of a single incident, as against the cumulative effect of repetition.

Indeed, we may say that all these omissions are made in some way in the interests of presenting the events in a dramatically convincing and cohesive manner. And we can extend this principle to cover the majority of those cases where the verse of the source is utilized but where there is



some omission of detail or variation in use. To give an example, with the omission of the incident of the angel, Samson's mother is left with little part in events; accordingly, she is only mentioned in the poem briefly in connection with Samson's birth and conjointly with her husband when they journey to Timnah to meet Dalestina and her parents and later to attend the wedding. There is no need for her to exist as a character and so she is not developed. Conversely, Manoach or 'Emanuel' becomes correspondingly more important and it is to him alone that Samson comes to demand permission to marry the Timnaite. Following this there is another example in the father's journey at a later date to finalize preparations for the wedding; it is not mentioned as it does not involve Samson directly and is rendered superfluous by the first visit which is seen as settling the matter. In Book V, dramatic succinctness also dictates a change in the order of the elements presented. The description of the harvest, referred to in Judges 15.1, is combined with the account of Samson's preparations for his revengeful burning of the enemy's crops, instead of at the beginning of this episode (Samson's attempt to regain his wife) where it is not particularly relevant. It is also logical that the return of Samson home with its bucolic evocation, should fit in with events taking place in the country rather than come between his rejection of Dalestina and his attempt to win her back (Judg. 14.19). The first two examples show literary considerations leading to the omission of elements in the source, while the third illustrates the re-arrangement of events for the same purpose.

Turning now to the additional material which Enríquez Gómez brings to his version of events, one can say again that the cases are relatively few and limited in scope. On the level of the poem as a whole, only Book IX and the first part of Book X (to stanza 33) can be said to have no relation with the source i.e. they do not arise from a suggestion or hint in the Bible. On the other hand, they are thematically important in that they demonstrate the falseness of pagan religion and dramatically they provide the turning point of the poem. Samson's domination over the Philistines on

the field of battle is confirmed (Book IX) and the Philistines are obliged to seek other means of defeating him, hence the prognostications of Fitón (Book X). The change back to love-affairs from military matters is there in the source: Enríquez Gómez provides the justification for it in terms of the unfolding dramatic structure.

The cantos which expand on one verse (or part of a verse) of the source, VI (two battles) and VII (vision), based on Judges 15.8, and XI (Dalida), based on Judges 16.4, are, of course, examples of elaboration greatly beyond what the source provides. But once more there are literary justifications for them - the ascendancy of Samson marked in Book VI, his leadership confirmed in the eyes of God by Book VII (in addition to the vision as a summation of the national and religious themes of the poem), and the total enslavement of the hero in a relationship based on lust prepared for in Book XI. At the same time this last case can be seen as perhaps the legitimate explanation of circumstances, as seen in the meeting of Samson and Dalestina, also elaborated imaginatively, in Book I.

All these major expansions and excursions mentioned are fitted into the structure of the poem in such a way that they do not disturb the biblical narrative or overwhelm it. On the one hand, the poet follows the story provided by the source consecutively and, as we have seen and shall see further, relatively closely. On the other hand, he allows the poem to open up at specially chosen and controlled points, mainly one observes in the middle portion of the poem. Thus, the story of Samson is followed to the end of Book V (marriage to Timnaite and consequences), broken off to present the battles of Book VI and the vision of VII, returned to in Book VIII, broken off again to present the turning point of Book IX and X, to return to source at the end of X until the last canto (XIV), with the expansion of Book XI as a possible momentary diversion. In this way the sense of continuous biblical narrative is preserved, while the excursive material not only does not impinge upon it or distort it, but through its dramatic and



thematic relevance positively adds to our understanding of it.

This pattern of adherence to source combined with expansion at other points is analogous to that seen in the use of the Song of Songs in La culpa del primer peregrino, where quotations from the source or close paraphrases were combined with the poet's own lyrical and imagistic elaborations (see above, Chapter Four, p. 143 ff.). Moreover, one can see the pattern repeated in those cantos where the source is followed closely. The essential narrative is presented with little change (except as given in the comparison of text and source above) but the poetic and dramatic realisation of it involves the use of the poet's own imaginative resources. For example Judges 14.1: 'Y decendiendo Samson en Thamnata, vido en Thamnata vna muger de las hijas de los Philisteos' is rendered firstly by 'Este...prodigioso nazareno/ Bajaba a Tamatá, del filisteo/Ciudad...' (I.36) and is subsequently followed by the poet's own account of how Samson actually meets her. This, of course, is exploited as an opportunity to indulge in pastoral and amatory description, but it seems wholly in keeping with the spirit of the biblical text and a legitimate means of making the bare narrative come to life.

To demonstrate how this works on the level of a whole canto, one can take the example of Book II. Stanza one reports Samson's return home (Judg.14.2); stanza 9 he asks permission to marry the Philistine woman (Judg.14.2); stanza 17 reproduces his father's argument against marrying a Philistine (Judg.14.3) and stanza 22 ff. Samson's insistent reply (ibid.); Stanza 30 refers to Manoach/Emanuel's not knowing that the marriage is God's will (Judg.14.4); Samson and parents leave for Timnah and Samson turns off the road (Judg.14.5); stanza 35, he meets the lion (Judg.14.5), the 'spirit of the Lord' descends on him (35, Judg.14:6) and he slays it with his bare hands (st.40, Judg.14.6); stanza 46 refers to his not telling his parents (Judg.14.6); stanza 47 he arrives to meet his bride-to-be and her parents (cf. Judg.14.7). There we have the essence of the story, exactly as in the Old Testament source - ten stanzas for six verses. In between it

is filled out with the description of Samson's feelings for Dalestina (2-6), the preamble to and amplification of his request for her hand (7-8, 10-14), the amplification of Emanuel's reaction (14-21) and of Samson's further plea (22-28), his father's acquiescence (29-31), Samson's fight with the lion in full detail (36-45) and the meeting with Dalestina's parents (47-56 end). This kind of pattern is repeated throughout the poem (with the exception of the four and a half cantos discussed above) and lends the poet's presentation of the story of Samson a general feeling of fidelity to the text of the source, while at the same time giving it a dramatic force and reality.

Looking more closely at the stanzas which correlate directly with the source, one can see frequently more than a mere reproduction of the narrative content of the original: the language of the text is present also. Although there are not many cases of the borrowing of the exact language of the Bible (cf. La Culpa and Song of Songs), the terms used often amount to a close paraphrase of it. Taking an example from the canto just discussed, the reply of Manoach to Samson on his request for marriage reads in the biblical text as follows:

No hay mujer entre las hijas de tus hermanos, ni en todo mi pueblo,  
para que te vayas tu a muger de los Philisteos incircuncisos?  
(Judges 14.3)

Enríquez Gómez's version reads:

¿Faltaban en tu sangre noble hebreo  
Soles templados donde amor lograrse  
El debido a la Ley sacro himineo,  
Sin que deidad profana le gozase?  
¿Quién introdujo lazo filisteo  
(Aunque festivo rayo le tocasse)  
En el sol de Israel, éste divino  
Y aquél gentil por bárbaro camino?  
(S.N.II.17)

Culto periphrasis transforms 'las hijas' into 'soles templados', 'tus hermanos' into 'tu sangre noble hebreo', 'muger de los filisteos incircuncisos' into 'deidad profana' (with 'filisteo' encountered in the following line).



The idea that such a marriage is contrary to the Law is also made explicit. Moreover, the essence of the original is preserved - Manoach's surprise that Samson apparently cannot find a wife among his own people and his horror of a liaison with a woman of the people who are their enemies.

A second example is provided by Samson's riposte to the Philistines on hearing them give the correct answer to his riddle: 'Si no aráredes con mi novilla, nunca hallárades mi pregunta' (Judges 14.19) becomes 'Si vosotros... la tierra arastes, fértil en mi daño, / No es mucho que cogiese la delicia / El deslucido fruto del engaño' (S.N.IV.28i-iv). Enríquez Gómez has maintained the image of ploughing, while discarding the 'vulgar' term 'novilla'. The sexual undercurrent of the original is transmuted into an oblique reference to infidelity: 'fértil en mi daño' refers to women as ripe for deceit and 'engaño' to the trickery of both Samson's wife and the Philistines. The poet's own imagistic development of 'tierra' and 'fruto' compensates for the loss of the combination of 'arar' and 'novilla'.

The last example is one in which quotation of actual phrases from the source occurs: this is in Samson's confession of his secret to Dalida which appears in Judges 16.17 as follows:

Nunca a mi cabeza llegó navaja: porque soy Nazareno de Dios; desde el vientre de mi madre. Si fuere rapado, mi fuerza se apartará de mí y seré debilitado, y como todos los hombres.

Compare:

De la cuna materna fui perfeto  
Varón contra el imperio de la muerte:  
Nazareno de Dios es mi precepto;  
Nunca el acero de ninguna suerte  
Mi cabello tocó, porque quedara  
Hombre común, si el pelo me cortara.

(S.N. XIII.45.iii-viii)

'Nazareno de Dios' occurs in each case. 'Porque quedara / Hombre común si el pelo me cortara' repeats the second sentence of the original in similar

terms but condensed and in reverse order. Similarly, 'Nunca el acero ... Mi cabello tocó' effectively reproduces the first sentence there. The conjunction of 'De la cuna materna' and 'Nazareno de Dios' (albeit amplified in between with a paraphrase of the second in 'varón perfecto etc.') is as in the original, though again with the order reversed. 'De la cuna materna' is an expected euphemism. The only element not reproduced is the explanation of 'mi fuerza se apartará de mí y seré debilitado' for the very good reason that, as the stanzas which follow make plain, the poet does not regard the strength of Samson as lying in the hair itself but in God's favour ('Hombre común seré, no peregrino / Faltándome el espíritu divino', XIII.47.vii-viii). In all three cases given, one has the impression that the poet has constructed his lines with the text of the Bible before him and with it very much in mind in formulating his own poetic elaboration of it.

Clearly an epic of fourteen cantos in length with some 50 to 80 stanzas in each canto involves a large degree of expansion in respect of a source of effectively only 76 verses. In addition there is the impulse to include elements expected in an epic of the period (see Chapter Seven), not to mention dramatic and poetic exigencies, which amount to a considerable pressure on the poet to completely transform the biblical story beyond recognition. The poet however has resisted this pressure: the biblical source not only provides the basis of the epic narrative but is itself maintained essentially intact. On the one hand, little is omitted of which nothing more than a peripheral importance. On the other, that which is added either, if it is of substantial length (e.g. Book VI), stands outside the biblical narrative in a way which we have explained, or more usually represents the legitimate poetic and dramatic realization of the source. That which is transformed is done so in a limited way and generally with the interests of dramatic cohesion and development in mind. Altogether, the feeling of the original comes through with a strong sense that the poet has been faithful to it. This is not to say that the omissions, additions and deviations do not affect the balance of the whole and do not have



an influence on the kind of poem which emerges - of course they do and we shall see that Enríquez Gómez incorporates many ideas from Tasso and others into his poem and Sansón Nazareno is transformed in many ways into a typical epic of its period. On the other hand, the fidelity of the poet to the Old Testament source provides a solid basis on which these other developments are founded. Whatever else happens, whatever other forces are brought into play, the biblical source remains at the centre of the work and the rest of the poetic structure is fashioned to it.

Finally, one may make the comparison between the approach of Enríquez Gómez and that of Juan Pérez de Montalbán, his contemporary, in his play El valiente Nazareno. The comparison is moreover appropriate, since not only is the subject the same but it appears to have been known to Enríquez Gómez and influenced him to the extent that he borrows some of the names of characters from it - Emanuel for Manoach, Dalida for Delilah, Zabulón as an Israelite leader (cf. as a Philistine [sic] gracioso in Montalban's play) and Jabino (cf. Jabín) as a Philistine captain. A look at Montalbán's play amply demonstrates that to express the view that Enríquez Gómez has been faithful to the Bible in outline and in detail is by no means to state the obvious. Montalbán respects neither the order of events concerning Samson, nor their spirit, nor does he reproduce the details of the original as Enríquez does. His poem opens with Samson's father imprisoned by the Syrian (sic) king, Lisarco, telling of a battle in which Samson slays some soldiers with a jaw-bone, having broken bonds put upon him by a certain Jabín while he rested on a grassy band. This is the incident at Lehi transformed in its details and, moreover, placed at the beginning of Samson's story, rather than properly in the middle of it. That in itself would not matter, since relation of events already occurred is a standard literary device,<sup>6</sup> were it not that it is followed in the action of the play by Samson's encounter with a lion which is intended to represent the event which occurred during the earlier descent to Timnah. As for the spirit of the original, Samson in Montalbán's hands becomes a typical hero of

comedia de capa y espada, envied by the king, who desires his wife (sic), Dalida, and secretly loved by the Infanta. In addition, he is seen as a prefiguration of Jesus. By contrast, Antonio Enríquez Gómez's Samson and the events which surround him can be said to have been lifted remarkably untouched from the pages of the Old Testament.

In Sansón Nazareno, we have a poem on a biblical subject dealt with in a manner which largely preserves the original and represents it with some degree of fidelity. This approach pays homage to the Bible as the word of God and can be accounted in a sense a religious act, an act of piety. Thus from the outset, the poem can be seen as demonstrating an intention of religious and group commitment. In the following chapter we will take this a stage further by examining the themes which the story of Samson is used to express and which embody this commitment of the poet.



Notes to Chapter Five.

1. Clearly it was the potential for exploitation along the lines described here which attracted Enríquez to the story of Samson (apart from the natural epic combination of heroic exploits and love-affairs). It cannot have been a strong tradition which impelled him, for one notes that neither in Christian nor Jewish thought has Samson achieved importance beyond the level of exemplum, despite the favourable opinion of him of Josephus (Antiquities of the Jews, trans.W.Whiston, Edinburgh, 1840, Book V.8, para.12) and Saint Paul (Hebrews 11.32-4). Indeed for the Christian world Hercules appears to have stolen his limelight, both as heroic figure and even as religious symbol and prefiguration of Jesus (see M.Simon, Hercule et le Christianisme, Strasbourg, 1955). Of the 50 literary analogues of Milton's Samson Agonistes listed by W.Kirkconnell, That Invincible Samson, University of Toronto, 1964, p.146 ff., only three are Spanish - an auto dated c.1500, Montalbán's play (see above, pp.136-7) and a play of Rojas Zorilla, performed in Madrid in 1641 but now lost. (Kirkconnell lists two relaciones from Montalbán's play as separate items and also omits to mention Enríquez Gómez's poem.) No other epic poem appears to exist on the subject.
2. For the precise correlation of text and biblical source, see Notes to Texts 2, p.711 ff.
3. J.J.Slotki, Judges (Soncino edition), London, 1950, p.274, interprets 'companion' (Judges 14.20) as one of the thirty groomsmen mentioned in Judges 14.11, but quotes the view of the biblical exegete A.B.Erlich that the Hebrew means rival. The latter is also the interpretation of Flavius Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, ed.cit., v.8, para 6. This is the view Enríquez Gómez follows in opposition to Reyna who adds a note to the effect that the 'compañero' is that of Samson and not of the Timnaite.
4. Babylonian Talmud, Soncino English edition, London, 1935, Tractate Sotah, p.41, quotes the Gemara as saying: 'The beginning of his degeneration

occurred in Gaza; therefore he received his punishment in Gaza'; Cornelius a Lapide, Commentaria in Josue, Antwerp, 1617, p.173, refers to Saint Augustine's condemnation of Samson's fornication, in connection with this passage (Judges 16.1)

5. See Slotki, op.cit., p.175

6. Milton's Samson Agonistes (1671) presents the events of Samson's life in retrospect as he languishes in prison. This device and others, such as the invention of a Philistine giant, Harapha, and the use of a chorus in the Greek manner, do not however destroy the sense of respect for the source, even though naturally Milton, like Enríquez Gómez, is putting it to his own poetic purpose.



Chapter Six: The themes of 'Sansón Nazareno'.

The three major strands which run through Sansón Nazareno are as follows:

1) National - the conflict between Israel and the Philistines as a parable of the situation of Jews (and Marranos), oppressed by other nations.

2) Religious - the conflict between the faith of Israel and idolatry or other 'false religions'; also, the chosen rôle of Israel and her hope for messianic redemption.

3) Personal - the poet's feelings of identification with Israel, particularly expressed in the theme of martyrdom, the ultimate of religious commitment; also the minor theme of inter-marriage.

In many respects these themes overlap - the national theme is a manifestation of the poet's sense of identification; the conflict between Israel and other nations is based on religious differences and is not territorial except in ancient (or very recent) times; and the messianic hope centres not only on religious redemption but on national liberation also. Nevertheless, it is helpful to an understanding of the poem, its purpose and achievement, to make these distinctions and to discuss each in turn.

### A. National theme

The events related in the poem are, as we have seen in Chapter Five, closely based on the Book of Judges and the account given there of the period of Samson's judgeship. Thus the major part of the poem is concerned with the situation of Israel under Philistine domination and the efforts of Samson to achieve national liberation from that yoke of oppression.

To take the rôle of Samson first, there is a small but significant difference between the biblical account and Enríquez Gómez's. Although there Samson is seen as Judge of Israel, there is a definite sense of tribal differences, in that Samson belongs to the tribe of Dan and not to that of Judah. This emerges in the prelude to the Ramat Lehi incident (Judges 15.9-13) where the action of the 'men of Judah' in acceding to the Philistines' request for Samson to be delivered to them is clearly based on the feeling that they should not have to suffer for the deeds of a member of another tribe. Enríquez Gómez, on the other hand, identifies Samson with Israel as a whole and ignores tribal differences presenting the conflict of this episode as one between heroic dynamism and conservative caution. (Reference is made to his father as 'tan celebrado ... en el tribu de Dan', l.7 but nothing is made of it in this incident where one might expect it.)

Accordingly, throughout the work Samson is cast as the hero of Israel, the national leader. Expressions applied to him help convey this impression: Book I (Argumento) refers to his being chosen by God 'por caudillo del hebreo', similarly 'por general elige al Nazareno' (I.6); later on he is 'Del santo de Israel el brazo fuerte' (IV.39), 'Del pueblo de Israel rayo escogido' (IV.50), 'de su nación Atlante sin segundo' (VI.13) and 'El león de Israel' (VIII.43); Balonte mockingly calls him the 'pillar of Israel' - '¿De quién fio su poderosa diestra / El pueblo de Israel? desta coluna...' (XIV.33). This is further reinforced by the use of the symbol of the



'Lion of Judah'. On the one hand, Samson is, as in the phrase just quoted, 'león de Israel' (VII.43) and his defeat is symbolised by the lion trampled under the feet of Dagon in the description of his statue in the last canto (XIV.6). On the other hand, the lion is used as the symbol of Israel in the cosmic prelude to the battle of Book IX.30-4; that is to say that the lion is at one and the same time Israel and Samson, a correlation which closely identifies the hero with his nation.

Samson's national rôle is particularly seen in his dealings with the Philistines. Out of his verbal conflict with the cautious Zabulon (Bk.VIII) and his physical conflict with the Philistines which follows (VIII.45ff) Samson emerges as unchallenged leader of Israel, not simply its bravest soldier or its strongest champion. As a result, it is against him that the Philistines direct their attentions, first through battle (Bk.IX), then by the more devious strategem of employing 'warrior-beauties' (Bk.X ff.) But even before this point is reached, it is clear that the conflict, while focused on the person of Samson, is viewed as being on a national rather than purely personal level. From the beginning Samson is shown as suffering from anguish at the captivity of his people (I.15: '....vivamente se dolía / De ver a su nación en cautiverio') and is prompted to urge action on the 'Senate' of Israel (I.18-16) Later, when he is cheated of his prize in the contest of the riddle (Bk.IV), he directs his anger principally against the Philistines, rather than against his bride, Dalestina, whom he continues to love despite his necessary rejection of her. He warns that with God on his side he is now in a state of war against them and their king:

Guárdese vuestro rey, monstro profano,  
Que si hace el corazón del valor muestra,  
Cual otro Nilo hará por siete bocas,  
Que viertan sangre las nocturnas rocas.  
(IV.52v-viii)

Similarly, when faced with the fait accomplis of Dalestina's second marriage, he declines to act against her or her father, who has perpetrated this

deed, instead he threatens vengeance against the Philistines as a whole:

No quiero desplomar este edificio,  
Tálamo vil de mi perdida ingrata,  
...  
... este brazo ha de ser alada lumbre,  
Precipitada del celeste coro,  
Para abatir la idólatra costumbre;  
Por el viviente Dios a quien imploro,  
Que de Ascalón a la florida cumbre  
Del Líbano, penacho del Oriente,  
Ha de nadar en púrpura caliente.

(V.17.i-ii, V.19ii-viii)

In Book VI, sanctioned by God ('Su secreto designio, que blasona / Del eterno favor omnipotente' VI.4) and with the liberation of Israel for which he yearns in mind ('cela por istantes / La libertad de su nación divina'), he begins his task of fighting the Philistines in earnest, despite the disapproval of the leaders of his nation (VI.5). Erríquez Gómez, in presenting the two non-biblical battles of this canto, the attack on the rocky retreat of Dagón and the assault on the Tamatean fortress, in all their detail and colour, seeks to emphasise what is in fact happening: the national hero is emerging into the open, prior to taking up his rightful place at the head of his people, for which he has been prepared by these previous events. (In doing so he puts the use of the personal vengeance motive to initiate the events of national liberation into clearer perspective than in the biblical account.)

Finally, one can add that in the panorama of Jewish historical figures presented in Book VII, Samson appears principally as the warrior against the Philistines, underlining again his national rôle.(VII.36), which he continues to fulfil to the end, despite the distractions of his love affairs (XII.23 refers to his engagement in 'marciales consejos').

The rôle of Samson, moreover, is seen against the background of the overall situation of Israel under the domination of the Philistines. To



a large extent both the presentation of the hero and the situation in which he finds himself are dictated by, or made to correspond with, the epic form, which requires a particular type of hero in a national cause of some kind (see Chapter 7). This, however, is not the poet's sole motive: the situation of national subjugation and what it represents in terms of a contemporary and continuing problem is also important. Out of the many Old Testament themes which the poet might have used, he has chosen one which relates to the predicament of Jews in general and to the Marranos in particular in the Spanish context. The words 'Babel' or 'babilónico' (e.g. the temple of Dagon as 'de Babel vil laberinto' XIV.1 or Secafón's 'miembros babilónicos', IX,8) attached to the Philistines by the poet, give the key, for they carry the connotation in Enríquez Gómez's poetry in general not only of worldly corruption and pride but also of political and religious tyranny: one notes that the empire threatened with destruction by Lope de Vera in the Romance is that of Nimrod (Rom.1442), 'la casa de Babilonia' (Rom.1.477) (see Genesis 10.10: 'And the beginning of his [Nimrod's] kingdom was Babel') and its demise ushers in an era of harmony, the fulfilment of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks and eventually the Coming of the Messiah. Thus by association the Philistines stand for the oppressors of Israel in a context beyond the biblical and epic contexts and the theme has been chosen because it is capable of expansion in this way.

Several references in the poem indicate this broader, contemporary dimension: the Philistines' intention in coming to Lehi is described as 'Disipar pretendidndo furibundo / La casa de Jacob, solar del mundo (VIII.4), i.e. the destruction of Israel at large, despite their declared and ostensible aim of demanding Samson as a prisoner in order that he should pay the price for disturbing the peace (VIII.17 'El agresor pedimos alevoso...'). This perhaps suggests a parallel with the anti-semitic, racial motivations which infected public (Christian) attitudes in Spain towards New Christians as compared with the declared aim of the Inquisition in pursuing them, which

was to punish Christian heretics.<sup>1</sup> In Book VII, there is another apparent reference to this situation when it is stated that there will be no place in 'el Templo de la Fama' for 'El que rompe el derecho de las gentes' (VII.9), meaning perhaps those who oppress the nations within their gates as much as seek territorial conquest outside. Perhaps an explanation of what it is that motivates this tyranny is given when Samson tells his troops: '...a pesar del horrible cautiverio / Ponéis pavor al cananeo imperio' - it is fear of their faith, of their tenacity in belief, or fear of an unspecified kind, springing out of ignorance (as in the notorious blood-libel associated with the preparation of matzah or unleavened bread) which lies behind their antipathy. Or is this to read too much into what may simply be a statement of the view that the bravery and valour of the Israelites (and protection by God) still inspires awe, despite their smaller numbers?

In other places, one finds echoes of the psychological effects of subjugation on the oppressed people, for example, in Canto I, where the Elders argue that they must suffer their fate, since it is decreed by God as punishment for their sins (I.28 ff.). In Book VIII, Zabulón voices common fears when he argues:

Si tu irritas el odio que nos tiene  
Esta nación, y las demás naciones,  
¿Que fortuna tu espada nos previene  
En medio de tan bélicos dragones?

...

Si entiende este Babel desconcertado  
En el primero y el segundo Egipto  
Que si uno de nosotros ha pecado,  
Ha de pagar el pueblo su delito;  
Si tienen las naciones decretado  
Esta bárbara ley en su distrito,  
¿Por qué alteras la paz?...

(VIII.27.i-iv, VIII.28 i-vii)

The specifically Jewish connotation of these remarks would seem to be indicated by the phrases 'y las demás naciones' and 'las naciones... en su distrito', referring to the antagonistic feelings frequently found



amongst those in whose midst Jews are a minority.

An example in Book II of this parallelism between historical and contemporary situations, as presented by the poet, also points to what must be seen as the general significance of the national theme within the poem as a whole. Referring to the marriage of Samson to the Timnaite and his father's reluctant agreement, he points the moral of these events:

Deste de Venus bárbaro accidente,

...

El Físico del cielo sacrosanto

Sacó triaca para el pueblo santo. (II.30.v, vii-viii)

God, through this apparently profane marriage, which contravenes religious laws, will provide a solution to the situation of the Chosen People.

More generally, he states in stanza 33:

Aquí pierden el norte los prudentes,

Llevados de razones naturales:

Los que parecen actos indecentes

Tiene Dios por aciertos celestiales;

Sus pensamientos son tan diferentes,

Que cuando los discursos racionales

Imaginan la muerte de una suerte,

Dios saca vida de la misma muerte. (II.33)

Possibly 'muerte' merely refers to dishonour, but it seems more likely that by the use of this word, the poet's meaning is that God provides salvation even from the direst of predicaments. This in turn would appear to be the hope offered to Jews and crypto-Jews in his own time, that however much they may suffer a solution will be granted by God (cf. I.29: 'El buscará ocasión para que sea / La libertad del nación peregrino/ Triunfo feliz de la nación hebrea'). This is the hope which the poet presents through the story of Samson: just as through his deeds and his death Israel is freed from Philistine rule, so will suffering Israel in the poet's age also be freed by the hand of God, through the agency of some unknown hero yet to emerge. The last stanza of the poem points to this conclusion:

Redimieron sus años juveniles  
 La casa de Israel y el poderoso  
 Dominio de la sangre filisteá  
 Quedó sujeto a la potencia hebrea. (XIV.68.v-viii)

Moreover, by a slight exaggeration of the words of Judges 13.5 (the angel's prophecy of his birth) 'y comenzará a salvar a Israel de mano de los Filisteos' (Reyna trans.), he implies not only freedom from tyranny for Israel but a complete reversal of rôles, not to say vengeance against the forces of oppression.

Book VII, which more than any other helps to set the events of the poem in perspective, confirms that the prospect of national liberation, the consolation offered by the poet to his fellow Marranos, is one of the major intentions of the work. Here, the 'varones de Israel' are presented in succession in the 'Templo de la Fama': the principal figures of the Old Testament (but including the Maccabees from the Apocrypha) are dealt with in more or less their biblical order and divided broadly into 'warriors of Israel' - the early tribal leaders, the Judges (Gideon etc.), the Kings (David etc.) - and the Prophets who kept Israel from foreign gods of lamented her pursuit of them - Elijah (st.47), Elishah through to Nehemiah (st.71). With the latter, the procession becomes more and more orientated towards the messianic theme, culminating in the description of the Messiah himself (stanzas 76-82). This development reflects the interweaving of the religious and national themes, which is seen not only in the balance of warriors and prophets but in the presentation of the warriors as fighting both tyrants and false religions and of the prophets as warriors in the cause of God: an example of the first is Judah described as 'domando el yugo del tirano odioso' and 'defiende la palabra omnipotente' (19,iii,vi); of the second, Amos 'que pone al arco de su labio / Contra Damasco el verdadero tiro' (60.v-vi)

Samson belongs to the group of warriors rather than prophets, but



he is not picked out for special emphasis, which suggests that, despite his triumphal death at the end of the poem, he is but one of a succession of such heroes, who have saved Israel only for a short period. What then of the apparent message of hope in this story of Samson? The progression towards the messianic climax provides the answer: while a saving hero such as Samson is promised for the immediate future, the lasting salvation will be wrought through the advent of the Messiah. Thus Enríquez Gómez presents both a short term promise and a long term hope for his people.

Finally, it can be noted that throughout the poem the superiority of Israel is stressed. Not only is she referred to as 'pueblo escogido' (VIII.23) but she is described in such terms as 'señora de las gentes' (VII.52) and 'solar del mundo' (VIII.4). The aspect of God's protection is emphasised and the many examples of this in relation to Israel and Samson in particular are discussed below (see pp.207 ). Perhaps a more subtle indication of this is seen in Book VII: despite the express exclusion of 'caldeos, persas, griegos ... romanos' (8.viii) from the 'Templo de la Fama', the implication is that all those who are virtuous and eschew tyranny may enter there: 'La virtud es la gloria soberana / Que admite este supremo capitolio, / Pues no merece lauros eminentes / El que rompe el derecho de las gentes' (VII.9.v-viii). This should allow for a wide range of 'varones' of different nationalities and period to be honoured - the Evangelists, the Church Fathers, Christian monarchs etc. - but, no, we find in fact that all the figures presented are from the Old Testament and the Book of Maccabees i.e. all are Israelites. It is difficult to imagine a more positive example of partiality.

It may be objected, of course, that by 'Israel' the poet either means the historical nation of the Old Testament only or he is using it in the sense in which Christian writers use it, to denote Christianity in an earlier superseded form, as for example, in Lope de Vega's Jerusalén Conquistada Canto II which relates Old Testament prophecies of the suffering

of Jerusalem to the poem's context of the Crusades:

Yo traeré (Dixo Dios) para castigo  
Del pueblo de Israel, porque no adore  
Idolos, a su casa vn enemigo  
Robusto, y el que del mas lexos more.<sup>2</sup>

Here, it is the 'idolatry' of Christians, not of Jews, which is seen as punished by the Infidel's rule over the city and which Christian action must redeem). For the first (in Enríquez Gómez's case), we have seen ample evidence of the intended parallelism between the historical, biblical situation and the contemporary one. As for the second, this can only be shown if there is evidence of a working back from the Christian view-point to interpret the Old Testament in the light of the New Testament. It has already been argued that there is in general no evidence of this in his work (see Chapter Four): on the contrary, there is evidence of an attention to historicity, anachronistic details of battles and dress etc. apart, and a keeping within the biblical story of Samson, with only the vision of Canto VII straying beyond his period. In this vision the progression is only forward, from Abraham onwards and each figure stands in its own right, described in terms which derive from its biblical source. Even the orientation towards the Messiah in those stanzas dealing with the Latter Prophets reflects the direction present in their writings themselves. Moreover, there is no reference to New Testament figures, who might have been used to point the direction in which the other figures are going or to indicate a passing of Israel's rôle to Christianity (as is Lope's constant burden, see Cantos II and IV). The description of the Messiah is Christianized, as we shall see, but Enríquez Gómez does not oblige use to view him or the Old Testament figures who precede him from a New Testament perspective. 'Israel' is thus both historical and contemporary Israel, in the poet's view, and the poem is her national epic in both senses.

## B. Religious themes.

### i) General



The conflict between Israel and the Philistines has been seen so far in terms of national rivalry; however, of equal, if not greater importance is the religious motivation which lies behind it. Again, something is owed to the epic tradition, which invariably presents the conflict of the True and False faiths, so that here, on the one hand is the religion of Israel, that of the One God, and on the other is idolatry, the worship of Dagon and Ba'al.

That the faith of the Philistines is seen as false is clearly intimated by its being characterized as, for instance, 'culto ciego' (VIII.22.viii), 'inadvertido culto' (VI.56.viii) or as one of the 'religiones imperfectas' (I.24.iii). Often, in contrast to the Israelites, the Philistines are referred to by such terms as 'gentiles imperfectos' (XI.49.vi) or 'incircuncisos corazones' (XI.48.vii), implying that they are not blessed by belief in the true faith. Further the symbol of the serpent is applied to them also, indicating an association with sin, temptation and deceit, as derived from the Genesis story of Eve and the serpent. Two examples are: in Book VIII.53, where the battle between Samson and the Philistines is depicted as between 'La serpiente de Can' and 'El león de Judá' and in Book IX. 30 where the two comets representing each side in the coming battle are described as 'león resplandeciente' and 'Su contrario, en figura de serpiente'. One notes also that the statue of Dagón is described in Book IX.3 as having a serpent twisted round his legs.

Proof of the falseness of their faith is given through incidents in the course of the poem, as well as in the overall outcome of events. In Book VI, for example (st.3), the priest of the Philistines summons up the forces of hell to defeat the Israelite squadron which is besieging the Tamatean fortress; despite their intervention with cosmic upheaval and displacement of the elements, the Israelites triumph, however(54), and, as if to underline the point, prayers are offered to God and the priests of the false religion put to death by fire (57.vi). In Book IX, the

Philistine king receives the promise of victory from the idol of Dagón, yet the ensuing battle results in their defeat. The point is further made in stanza 35 of the same canto, which refers to the interpretation each side makes of the cosmic which forewarn of the battle's outcome:

Astronómicos juicios pronostican,  
Leyendo el libro de su ciencia errante,  
La futura batalla, donde aplican  
Su prospera fortuna vigilante:  
Los bárbaros errores ratifican  
Los magos Dilafonte y Polidante,  
Pero, Sansón en el Señor eterno  
Funda la inteligencia del cuaderno.

(XI.35)

Because their faith is wrong, so too are their predictions. (The messianic prophecy of Libro VII must, by contrast, be seen as an example of true prediction).

The conclusion of the poem provides the same message. Although Samson may be dead, his prayers have been answered and he has avenged himself against the Philistines, the God of Israel has triumphed. Prior to this the priest of Dagón had praised his god for the triumph he had apparently wrought in delivering Samson into their hands and declared that he would be sacrificed to it as 'de la venganza símbolo profano' (XIV.16) and as a message to the Israelites that they could carry this out 'sin que su Dios nuestro poder estorbe'. Balonte also mocked the power of God; when he asked of Samson: 'Dime, Sansón, ¿adónde aquel divino / Dios de Jacob está, que no defiende / Su pueblo.../ Si su poder el mundo comprende?' (XIV.29) and called on him to recognize and worship the power of Dagón (XIV.34). Samson, on the contrary, calls in his prayer to God, not only for strength to take revenge and to sacrifice himself in the cause of God and the Law, but also for the destruction of this idolatrous people, whose very existence is an offence to true religion:

¡Muera esta gente idólatra que adora  
Un medio fauno de metal marino,  
No quede dellos en el templo un hombre,  
Mueran los enemigos de tu Nombre!

(XIV.63.v-viii)



And this is precisely what is achieved by Samson's feat of pulling down the temple about him.

The picture of the Philistine faith is filled out with associations of the poet's own invention or drawn from Tasso. His debt to this other poet will be examined later (see Chapter Seven), but one can point for the moment to the linking of paganism with Hell and Pluto and the use of the names 'Acarón', 'el lago Averno', and adjectives such as 'tartareo', 'sulfureo', 'leteo' etc. In the description of the cavern or shrine of Dagón (Book IX), he develops his own idea (though not entirely original) of the physical darkness and blackness as moral elements. For instance, the darkness pays tribute to Pluto: in the grotto 'cuya profunda y desigual caverna / El negro imperio de Plutón enluta' ('negro' signifies both moral and physical blackness):

Opaca nube de la noche eterna  
Censo le paga, sombra le tributa,  
Vagando Bóreas en confusas nieblas,  
Monumentos de frías tinieblas.  
(XIV.1.v-viii)

One notices here the piling up of words denoting blackness: 'opaca', 'noche', 'sombra', 'tinieblas' and the suggestion in 'nube' and 'confusas nieblas' of moral and theological error.

Similarly, elements of blackness feature in the description of the statue of Dagón and are interlinked with other elements which indicate evil:

Una corona, círculo de bronce,  
Iris de guerra, coronó su frente,  
Cuyo torno veloz, víboras once,  
Diamantes son del verdinegro Oriente;  
Asido a un labio, un retorcido gonce  
Une la barba cana tenazmente,  
Siendo las olas de betún morado  
Del leteo licor torrente airado.  
(IX.4)

The crown is of bronze, rather than gold, indicating war rather than peace,

the phrase, 'Iris de guerra' reinforcing this, since Iris or the rainbow is a sign normally of peace; vipers suggest reason (cf. the symbol of the serpent, above, p.201 ); Dagón's mouth is 'retorcido', both ugly and contrived; the 'waves of bitumen' are the falsehoods that utter from him. The description of the temple in the last canto would seem to prove the point, for although it is no longer a cavern but has turned into a cathedral-like edifice, the elements of darkness remain in evidence: it is still 'de Rabel vil laberinto' (XIV.1.v) 'fúnebre Aqueronte' (1.viii) and is built of 'Libana piedra cuya pura nieve / Salpicaba las sombras del abismo'. It may radiate with light but it is still the temple of false religion.

In contrast to the emphasis on darkness there is the image of light which frequently occurs throughout the poem, associated with the true faith. Light or 'luz' means not simply physical brightness but enlightenment and insight: hence, Samson's hair is as a sun, brilliant in a physical sense, but also symbolic of his faith and the blessing of God which it represents:

El sol de su cabello daba muestra  
De tener en su golfo dividido  
Sagrados rayos de la sacra diestra  
Del abeterno Sol esclarecido.

(I.11.i-iv)

The Temple which Samson is shown in his dream in Book VII is a place of 'light' which Samson's presence illuminates still further(8), it is supported by 'cuatro columnas transparentes'(10) and the worthies who appear are as 'délficas centellas' (11).

Another aspect of Philistine religion is its association with magic and astrology (cf. Tasso). The priest in the last canto refers to Samson's capture as the victory of the 'mágica ley' of Dagón (XIV.18); from the statue of Dagón emanates '[un] mágico impulso' (IX.7); Secafónte is described as 'mágico sacerdote de Balonte' (IX.8), while his opening of the



cavern roof to transform it into a temple is of the same order as the sleight of hand employed by conjurers. As for astrology, this is seen as Fitón's main weapon in Book X, where he studies the signs of the zodiac, in addition to the magic mirror, in order to find out which is Samson's weak spot. With theological correctness, moreover, but also with recognition of the limitations of his powers, he admits (X.21) that the influence of the stars is subject to the domination of Man's Free-will ('las potencias') and that therefore he must seek to undermine Samson's exercise of it, hence the plan to use 'warrior-beauties', the prostitute of Gaza and Dalida, for this purpose. Thus astrology, no more than magic, has no real power to predict or control men and a religion which employs either is false.

Lastly, the commonest and most succinct characterization of the beliefs of the Philistines is as idolatry. There are too many instances to list, but a few examples are: 'la basta idolatría' (I.20), 'la idólatra tiniebla' (IV.41), 'la idólatra costumbre' (V.19). In the description of Dalida (Delilah)'s house in Libro XI (38 ff.), one of the most important features is the 'graven images' which adorn it, particularly the statue of Cupid to which Dalida renders homage (XI.41). In the last canto, the point is stressed by the presence in the temple of 1500 other idols in addition to the idol of Dagón, their principal god (XIV.5 'mil y quinientos ídolos de bronce'). Further, to some extent Samson's feelings towards his two latter loves are shown as idol-worship: with the prostitute of Gaza he promises to 'venerar el retrato de Cupido' (X.44) and Dalida's home is termed 'Profano templo donde reina el vicio' (XI.38). In view of the over-all moral of these affairs, that they distract Samson and lead him away from his duty towards God and the Law, such expressions must be seen as something more than the usual imagery of love, where the object of passion is 'una deidad' who is 'idolatrada'. (This is largely the case with Dalestina who is described as 'deidad humana' II.9 etc.)

The most intriguing example of the Philistines' idolatry, and perhaps the most original, is to be found in the person of Dagón. In the first battle of Book VI, Dagón appears as the leader of the Philistines (st.12); but shortly afterwards, having been slain by Samson (st.28), he is invoked in the same terms as Mars, which means that he too is seen as a god: 'Por las almenas dóricas parecen / De Marte rayos, de Dagón saetas' (VI.31). By Book IX he is the object of a fully-fledged religious cult, with a statue of himself in the centre of a subterranean shrine. He is made to speak (st.22) but one may rightly suspect that this is a piece of trickery, designed to fool the masses. The way in which Fitón, the seer, transforms the cavern into a temple to conduct the human sacrifice (st.26) is designed to be similarly impressive. These devices underline the implication of this transformation of Dagón from general to god that the faith of those that worship such a deity is merely man-made and falsely based - it is a sham.

However, the identification of paganism with idolatry may have a significance beyond literary device (the balance of opposites) or general moral contrast. With the Romance al divín mártir in mind, we can say that by Philistine idolatry he perhaps means Christianity. In that poem, one of the arguments employed against Christianity is that in its veneration of images of Madonna and saints it contravenes the Third Commandment prohibiting 'graven images' and debases religion by tainting it with 'materiales sujetos' (Rom.1.186) and our loftier thoughts with 'lo humano' (1.189). From the rest of the argument of the poem it is clear that this is not a generalised attack on all gentile faiths, but is specifically against Christianity: it is designated by the same terms as in Sansón Nazareno, as the religion of Bel (Rom.1.39 cf. S.N.IX.49) and of Babel (Rom.1.438 cf. 'Nembrot', 1.442; cf. S.N.XIV.I) and as 'la basta idolatría' (Rom.1.443 cf. S.N.I.20). If the terms are the same in each poem, one is permitted to conclude that the poet has the same object in mind when he attacks 'idolatry' and prophesies its demise.



On the other side, against Philistine (or Christian) faith stands the religion of Israel. Samson is seen not only as the national leader of Israel in war but as a man chosen by God as 'del sacro culto / Divino defensor' (I.52). This religious dimension is seen from the earliest description of him as 'Divino capitán del pueblo hebreo' (I.1); his strength is 'Impulso ... de espíritu eminente' (I.2); his hair is evidence of 'Sagrados rayos de la sacra diestra / Del abeterno Sol esclarecido' (I.11) Within him he feels 'el rosicler del día, / Divina inspiración maravillosa' (I.20) and at several points in the poem the spirit of God descends upon him, as when he fights the lion and slays it 'armado del espíritu divino' (II.35.) He is described also as being protected by the hand of God, at least until he neglects his duty: he swears to slay the Philistines in great numbers 'por el Dios de Israel que me acompaña' (I.25); God directs his weapon in battle 'El Dios de las batallas la [flecha] gobierna' (IV.51); his attack on the Philistines in Book VI, though disapproved of by the Elders of Israel, is sanctioned by God (VI.4 'Su secreto designio, que blasona / Del eterno favor omnipotente'); at Ramat Lehi he prays for water to allow him to carry on the fight and it is granted him (VIII.3-4); to Dalida he declares that if his hair is cut, 'Hombre común seré, no peregrino, / Faltándome el espíritu divino' (XIII.47.); and finally as he prays to God before the destruction of the temple, God's favour is bestowed on him once more - 'Baja sobre el hebreo peregrino / Del Señor el espíritu divino' (XIV.57).

Israel too is vouchsafed God's protection as 'el escogido pueblo venturoso' (I.21). The Elders in their reply to Samson evokes the memory of the Exodus in order to assure him that God will find a way to save Israel: 'El que abrió por el mar sonda y camino / Liniará ... / Camino regio al término prescrito / Deste segundo piélago de Egipto.' (I.29). Later the poet reaffirms that God is working towards this end, when he states that from the 'poison' of Samson's profane marriage to the Timnaite God will extract '[una] triaca para el pueblo santo' (II.30) In battle the

Israelites have God on their side: God would seem to be present in the cloud which covers the warring comets prefiguring the battle between men to come (IX.31-34) and Samson encourages his men with the argument '¿Quién contra nos, si Dios nos favorece?/ Quién contra nos, si Dios nos acompaña' (VI.17.i-ii). Similarly, the view is expressed that it is the army which has justice on its side that wins: 'No consiste en el número gigante / La victoria .../ Consiste en la justicia vigilante' (I.22 cf.VIII.10) - and justice would appear to be synonymous with God's protection. In his argument with Zabulón as to whether caution is to be preferred to boldness in dealing with the Philistine threat (Libro VIII), Samson calls on him and Israel to trust in God and he will protect them and lead them to victory: '¿No se nombra el Señor omnipotente / El Dios de los ejércitos divino?/ Pues arméis de su Nombre../ Y seréis pueblo suyo peregrino'(VIII.37)

The bond between Israel and God is based traditionally on her having been vouchsafed the concept of the One universal and sovereign God and having received the Commandments and the Law. Both these ideas are present in this poem. The most obvious evidence of the first is in the contrast with the religion of the Philistines, which, as we have seen, is characterized particularly by 'idolatry'. The Israelites have no idols, their God is in heaven, invisible but omnipotent; as Samson explains to Balonte:

Mi Dios está en el cielo, el tuyo vano  
Ni aun en la tierra está, pues no se siente;  
Mi Dios es Dios de dioses soberano  
Y el tuyo un puro engaño entre la gente;  
Yo adoro un solo Dios ... (XIV.36.i-v)

If Samson has been defeated this is not evidence of the superiority of Dagón; on the contrary, since it is the punishment for his sin, it is evidence of God's power to guide, punish and reward. In Samson's final prayer, (Book XIV) God is described as 'Autor eterno / De los tres mundos soberano Atlante,/ Incircunscrito, santo y abeterno ...(58) Unico Criador incomprehensible...Causa de las causas invisible (59)'.



Moreover, Enríquez Gómez makes a special point of periodically explaining his concept of God, defining and defending it, as in the confrontation of Balonte and Samson just referred to. The supremacy of God is also the theme of the hero's argument in Book III, where he persuades Dalestina to reject paganism:

No dé tu claro tu divino juicio  
A la gentilidad culto sagrado,  
Pues la luz natural da claro indicio  
Que un Dios gobierna todo lo criado;  
Un puro corazón en sacrificio  
Ofrece, Dalestina, al que te ha dado,  
Como primera causa sempiterna,  
Un alma racional que te gobierna.

Fingidas son las que adoró deidades  
La vana y la soberbia idolatría,  
Cuya ciega ilusión de las edades  
Vive en tinieblas, desluciendo el día;  
No des a mentirosas potestades  
La forma racional...

(III.11-12vi)

Besides the emphasis on God's powers as Creator and Lord of all, compared with the worthlessness of pagan deities, there is the suggestion that logic leads one to the idea that there is a single sovereign God. This is confirmed by Dalestina in her reply in which she says that the whole world recognizes 'la deidad... de un Dios solo' (III.13). This is reminiscent of the argument in the Romance regarding the unity of God (e.g. Rom.1.184: 'un solo Dios verdadero'), though without the specific reference to the Christian belief in the Trinity. The situation in this poem is different: the religious conflict emerges from a framework of history, which the poet, through a desire to remain largely faithful to his source, has to adhere to, excluding perforce an anachronistic argument against Christianity; also it is a published work which requires greater circumspection in dealing with such matters. Yet, if by 'idolatry' he is referring to a particular aspect of Christianity, the veneration of images (see above, p.206), then perhaps by the argument in favour of the One God, as opposed to the many pagan deities, he is really concerned with the

Jewish-Christian dichotomy as to the unified or composite nature of the Deity. The absence of any suggestion that God might conceivably be many or three, supports the thesis that the poet is concerned to defend a specific concept of God, that is the Jewish monotheistic view-point.

One thing is certain and that is that the God concerned is the God of Israel - 'Dios de mis padres ... Dios de Abrahám, tu verdadero amante,/ Dios de Isaac, cuyo altísimo gobierno/En la divina Ley vive triunfante,/ Dios de Jacob de bendiciones lleno' as Samson expresses it in his last speech (XIV.58). The correlations between this passage as a whole and Jewish liturgy have already been discussed: it is a recasting of the prayer of Lope de Vera (Rom.11.319-40) which in turn is modelled on the Amidah (see Chapter 4, p.151ff.) As such it can be seen as an expression of the poet's sense of Jewish identity and of his beliefs; because it forms the climax of the poem in a mood of confession and affirmation of faith, it is bound to suggest that throughout the poem the author is referring to Jewish belief and not to a generalized or historical faith, the custodianship of which may have passed to others. On the contrary, the implication is that the God Enríquez Gómez believes in and is the moving force behind the triumph of Samson is the God of the Old Testament, unchanging and one.

As for the concept of the Law, this is less developed than in the Romance. To be sure, there are many references to the importance of the Law and the need to obey it, as, for example, in Samson's request for his father's permission to marry Dalestina, a non-Israelite. Samson alludes to his previous strict adherence to the Law which has not changed despite the change that has come over him since he fell in love:

Otro soy del que fui, si el haber sido  
Obidiente a la Ley que me mandaste  
Pudo retroceder, siendo discreto,  
De la justicia el literal precepto.

(II.8.v-viii)



In Libro VII, Moses is identified as 'Sumo legislador' (st.29) and many other 'varones' are referred to as defenders of the Law, for example, Josiah: 'venera de la Ley el culto ardiente' (st.53), an apparent allusion to the vital rôle he played in the establishment of the text of the Pentateuch and its laws. On the other hand there is nothing in the way of explanation of what the Law consists of, no elaboration of ideas on the subject, as in the case of God, no references to the Commandments collectively or individually, nor to the body of laws as such, as there are in the Romance - though clearly, as there, he has the Pentateuch in mind (see for example the distinction between Law and Prophetic Books in I.24 'Defendamos la Ley y los Profetas'). Indeed the concept of the Law, as the Law of Moses, fuses more or less with the particular laws which Samson, as a Nazir must follow. But this in fact is the key: Samson because of his special position is charged with particularly strict adherence to the Law and becomes the guardian of the Law, the foundation of the religion of Israel. The particular Nazirite laws are hardly mentioned, except for his hair being accorded some emphasis in his description (see I.11) - no reference is made to abstinence from wine or from eating 'any unclean thing' (Judges 13.7) - rather, the poet appears to concentrate on the general idea of Samson as 'a Nazirite unto God from the womb' i.e. as a man specially consecrated to God. Observance of the Law is thus focused on this special position of Samson's, but only as symbolic of the principle of adherence to the Law as a whole. The moral is therefore the same as in the Romance, if expressed in a more indirect manner: not that the Law 'saves' through being observed (Rom.1.259,287-90, 303-6), but that it destroys through not being adhered to. The first time that Dalida tempts Samson to reveal his secret, he remembers 'la divina ley que ha recibido' and rejects her 'gentílicos engaños,/ Bebiendo nazarenos desengaños' (XII.31); when he walks away from her after she has tested the false answer he has given her, he has received God's protection because he has kept to his commandments:

Deja la ninfa de su vista, siendo  
 Impulso cuerdo de la excelsa mano  
 Del divino Señor, Argos celoso  
 De su gallardo espíritu dichoso.

(XII.58.v-viii)

But when he does reveal the secret of his strength, disaster quickly follows, because, as he explains to Dalida, his strength depends on his adherence to God's Law in general and to the Nazirite laws in particular:

Yo soy...  
 ... el Nazareno fuerte;  
 De la cuna materna fui perfeto  
 Varón contra el imperio de la muerte;  
 Nazareno de Dios es mi precepto,  
 Nunca el acero de ninguna suerte  
 Mi cabello tocó...

(XIII.45.i-vii)

One notes the particularly strong echo of what we have taken to be the key phrase of Judges 13 (v.7 'a Nazirite unto God from the womb'). It is not the secret itself which is important but the fact that in revealing it in the circumstances in which he found himself he inevitably laid himself open to breaking of the prohibition against cutting the hair to the degrading of his special status and to contravention of the Law as a whole.

Samson's situation parallels that of Lope de Vera, further, in that both ultimately can look forward to heavenly reward after the trials of this life. If Samson has forfeited divine grace by breaking the Law of God, he regains it through repentance and the willingness to sacrifice himself in the cause of the Law. As he says (XIV.61): 'Yo muero por la Ley que tú escribiste,/ Por los preceptos santos que mandaste' (as well as for God and Israel). His attitude of submission is the same as Lope de Vera's (Rom.11.319 ff.) and, besides the strength to avenge himself, his request in his prayer is for forgiveness: 'Dadme aliento, Señor, para vengarme / Y tu auxilio eficaz para salvarme' (S.N.XIV.60), so that, although the idea that he will gain eternal salvation is not explicitly stated in his case, as it is in Lope's (Rom.11.373-80), it is implied that



he will in fact achieve it, just as he is granted the strength to destroy the temple, and wreak vengeance on the Philistines. Thus, by his act of dying for the Law, Samson too, like Lope de Vera, in the end gains salvation through the Law.

The concept of the One God and of the Law, its nature and purpose, recalls and coincides with the arguments of the Romance, a poem which we have seen is a defence of Judaism and an attack on Christianity. Sansón Nazareno, in its religious aspects, would appear to be a restatement of that argument - one which comes moreover to the same conclusion.

## ii) Messianism

The last aspect of the religious themes in Sansón Nazareno we must consider is that of messianism, for the poem can be seen in this respect also as complementary to the Romance al divín mártir.

### Samson as a messianic figure:

The messianic hope is concerned with both religious and national liberation: given Samson is seen as the national liberator of Israel, is he in his capacity as a religious leader also to be seen as a messianic saviour? It has already been suggested in the discussion of the hero's national rôle that Samson may be seen as the embodiment of the hope that some figure may emerge to destroy the 'Philistines' in the near future. At the same time, the lasting salvation is seen as coming with the Messiah himself, who is presented in Book VII. Samson is clearly, therefore, not the Messiah or a direct representation of him.

On the other hand, Samson might be a prefiguration of the Messiah. Firstly, as we have seen earlier (Chapter Four), there is no basis for the argument that Enríquez Gómez's Samson is a Christian prefiguration, a typus Christi, that is to say a parallel to Jesus in his birth, life

and death. Nor can he be seen as a John the Baptist figure, for though he may precede the Messiah in time, he is not presented as preparing his way. This leaves the possibility of his being a Jewish prefiguration. Where one might expect to find indications of this is in the portrayal of the hero's death and triumph; however, it is without the kind of preliminaries which would be appropriate, such as cosmic signs (cf. Romance, 1.505) or the stopping of the sun or an eclipse (cf. Luke 23.44). As to the aftermath of his death, there is nothing beyond the bald statement that Israel is liberated from Philistine tutelage and that the Philistines themselves become her vassals (XIV.68). In fact, here and throughout the poem, Enríquez Gómez adheres more or less to the biblical story and does not seek to extend the presentation of his hero beyond his rôle as national liberator and protector of the religion of Israel. He does not seek to establish parallels between Samson and the Messiah, as could easily have been done through excursuses, prophecies and the like. Indeed, he manages to maintain a clear line of separation between the person of Samson and the Messiah, between the vision which appears in Book VII and the rest of the poem, except on the thematic plane where of course the messianic vision sets the events of the whole work in perspective. Samson observes the procession of figures from the Old Testament and the Messiah; he does not direct or influence it, he is not of it except incidentally in that he too is an Old Testament figure. In the presentation of Samson there he is accorded no more emphasis or hint of parallelism than other 'varones' who appear: Fineas, for example, is also a warrior and opponent of paganism (VII.34 'Se precipita cuerdo a la venganza, / Disipando.../ De Venus la sacríliga alianza'). Indeed the emphasis in the stanza concerned, which we shall quote, seems to be on his historically recorded physical feats, rather than on any extended religious rôle (whether messianic or such as we have already ascribed to him):

Este que ves es tu retrato mismo:  
Sansón es éste, nazareno fuerte,  
Hidra del filisteo barbarismo  
Y brazo poderoso de la muerte;



Asido a las columnas del abismo,  
 Arranca los cimientos de tal suerte,  
 Que al desplomar el templo que le oprime  
 Rechina el firmamento, el orbe gime.

(S.N.VII.36)

One notes that this glimpse of Samson's death is not in itself a prophecy of that end, since death is mentioned only in a sibylline manner, nor is it related to the subsequent events of his life (e.g. his affairs with women) in the manner of a warning. This account stands apart from the rest of the poem and therefore suggests that Samson, whether within Book VII or outside it, is not to be seen as involved in the eventual messianic triumph which is here prophesied.

Having said that, however, there are indications which possibly reach out in that direction. At various points throughout the poem reference is made to future liberation of the Israelites, as for example when the most enlightened minds among them see in Samson the hope of 'futuras libertades/ Regias victorias, sacras potestades' (I.16) or when Samson's successes to come are described as possibly leading to universal domination, instead of the limited overthrow of their rulers (I.34 'Esperando que el joven sin segundo / Sujete así los términos del mundo'; VI.4 'Domar el Asia, sujetar el mundo'. Such cases are related to the immediate historical situation presented in the narrative, that of the subject people looking to the emergent champion to free them from Philistine rule. However, if this is regarded as symbolising the Marrano situation with the Philistines standing for Christianity (or the Inquisition etc.) and it is borne in mind that national liberation forms part of the messianic hope, then it can be seen that an extra-historical dimension may be present, that national redemption implies messianic redemption. Further support for this comes in the passages in which God's presence is manifested in a cloud before the cosmic battle which presages Samson's victory in the decisive battle with the Philistines in Book IX:

Estiéndese una nube por de dentro,  
De Delia siendo el dilatado escudo,  
En campo negro, en pabellón segundo,  
Blasón eterio de otro nuevo mundo.

(S.N.IX.31.v-viii)

The situation is obviously portentous and appears to have messianic overtones. The phrase 'pabellón segundo' is an allusion to the pillar of cloud which accompanied the Children of Israel in the wilderness (Exodus 13.21) and which led them to the Promised Land, the first 'nuevo mundo'. The analogy between the Exodus and the Messianic Age is one which is well-established in the speculative literature. Moreover, Enríquez Gómez refers to Ezechiel's prophecy of the 'dry bones' at another point as relating to 'Del Juicio universal el nuevo mundo' (VII.51); again Universal (or the Last) Judgement is associated with the era of the Messiah. However, the reference to Exodus may suggest no more than the idea of freedom from oppression and the terms used in the other examples are equally general and do not direct us specifically or precisely towards the messianic context. Again one must refer to the almost complete separation of Samson from the messianic progress charted in Canto VII. At the same time the hope of liberation is there, extending beyond the historical context of the Israelites under Samson to encompass the Marranos and Jews in general. In an indefinite way this may be ultimately connected with the final messianic end (but note the contrast with the King in the Romance, l.505, who definitely is part of the messianic process). On balance one would conclude that Samson and the events in which he is involved are not in themselves messianic, nor do they prefigure the messianic Coming, but represent the intermediate hope whose long-term fulfilment is still embodied in the Messiah himself.

#### Messianism in Book VII:

Turning now to the seventh canto of the poem, we can see that the messianic theme is certainly in evidence. Here, the advent of the Messiah is described as the climax of the succession of worthies of Israel who



have defeated paganism and kept her faithful to her God. In the course of the prelude to this climax, warriors give way to prophets and these become increasingly related to the theme of the Messiah, beyond their immediate function in the unfolding of Jewish history. In keeping with the twin poles of the messianic redemption in the Jewish tradition, the religious and the national, the warriors are actually part of the process, not separate from it. This can be seen in the presentation of them as both fighters against other nations and against false gods, which is summarised particularly by the Maccabees, as 'Planetas firmes deste cielo impirio' and 'Esos que a los antiocos odiosos / Duplicaron la furia...' (VII.73.)

The prophets take over from the warriors with Elijah (st.43) and the coming of the Messiah crowns their achievements, as it does those of the warriors, especially in the Messiah's dominance over false religions: 'al serpentino horror del hemisferio / Con su justicia dejará cautivo' (78) More important, he is seen as the triumph of all their prophecies as is illustrated by the summary given in stanza 81:

Moisés le llama "alado Mensajero",  
 "Ceptro de paz" el cándido Isaias,  
 Ezequiel "sagrado Consejero",  
 "Pacto divino" el docto Jeremías,  
 Zacarías fiel "manso Cordero",  
 "Angel del firmamento" Malaquías,  
 David le aclama "Brazo sin segundo",  
 Y todos juntos "Salvador del mundo".

(VII.81)

As the succession of prophets evolve, more attention is paid to the specifically messianic significance of their pronouncements, over and above that of their fighting against idolatry. This messianic element begins, in fact, even earlier, with the description of David<sup>3</sup>, which refers to his family origin, '[el] tronco de Isai,' as 'árbol fecundo' and to his rule from Jerusalem: 'Será por su valor y por su espada / Cabeza de las gentes en el mundo', (st.40), both of which appear to allude to the idea, common to both Judaism and Christianity, that the Messiah should be of the House

of David.

Subsequently, several of the prophets are described in a way which places some emphasis on the elements of their prophecies which relate to messianic ideas: Ezekiel's prophecy of the Resurrection of the Dead (51) an event related to the Coming; Daniel and the Seventy Weeks(55); Hosea and the captivity of the 'nine and a half' tribes, whose return is one of the signs of the Messiah<sup>4</sup>(58); Joel and the horn announcing Universal Judgement cf. Ezekiel(59); Micah and the Babylonian Exile but also of God's mercy to Israel subsequently (63). In all these cases, it may be argued that the prophetic references are no more than what would naturally and inevitably occur in any such panorama of Old Testament figures and that they are rooted in the historical context where they are to be found. On the other hand, to take the example of Daniel, most of the historical elements that might have been included are omitted (e.g. the Dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, the 'writing on the wall' etc.) and the incident of the lion-den which is included is presented as a proof of the validity of his prophecies ('De los magos caldeos perseguido / Por reprobar sus viles opiniones'). In other cases, one can argue simply that the form of words used and the general progression of the series of figures points in that direction. If elsewhere, in the story of Samson and the Philistines, national liberation arises out of Babylonian captivity, it would seem likely that the poet has this in mind also when he writes of Micah: '... anuncia babilónica morada / Al pueblo de Judá, volviendo luego / A templar con piedad el mismo fuego'(63). Indeed, perhaps all the references to the Babylonian Exile in the sequence are to be taken as allegorical of the Marrano 'captivity'.

However, with the prophet Haggai, the messianic link is clearly drawn:

Aquél que exhorta con perfeto ejemplo  
A fabricar la esfera peregrina,  
Segundo de Siló sagrado Templo,  
Casa de Dios, morada matutina,



Es el profeta Agueo, en quien contemplo  
 Del Mesías la nave diamantina,  
 Pues con su luz la fábrica postrera  
 De más gloria será que la primera.

(VII.67)

Here, the biblical facts relating to Haggai - his prophecy of the building of the Second Temple - are given a messianic interpretation, with the Temple seen as illumined by the presence of the Messiah, whether Jesus (there are echoes of Revelation's image of Jesus as the temple, Rev.21.22) or, as is more likely, given the contrast of 'postrera / primera' rather than 'segunda/primeras' which allows for an allusion to the building of the Third Temple in the Messianic Age, a Jewish Messiah.

Following Haggai, Zechariah (68) is also overtly connected with the Messiah: 'Este que ve del soberano ungido / La mansedumbre de su firme diestra'. Malachi's vision of 'la rosada aurora', which may on the basis of Haggai in stanza 67, be interpreted as the Messianic Age, rather than simply the rebuilding of the Second Temple. Perhaps too the description of the joy at its completion (71, Zorobabel and Nehemiah) prefigures that same time to come, particularly if the reference here (also Ezra,70) to the historical fact of the rebuilding is to be taken as proof of the validity of the prophecies which foretold it and thus of the fulfilment of their prophecies for the future.<sup>5</sup>

Following the later restorers of the Temple, the Maccabees, who draw the national and religious strands together and relate them to the messianic direction of the canto, the Messiah himself is described(75-81) the culmination of the whole sequence of worthies of Israel. Turning now to this description, what is Antonio Enríquez Gómez's view of the Messiah?

First a summary of the stanzas concerned: the first presents the Messiah, his divine origin (75.ii-iv 'Imagen sacra del Autor del mundo...etc.) and his Coming as the fulfilment of prophecy (vii 'Cumplimiento de

tantas profecías') together with some of the names applied to him (v'estrella', v'verbo', 'brazo sin segundo'). Stanza 76 continues this presentation, with further references to his status (ii 'De tela humana su deidad ceñida', viii 'Monarca eterno'), but concentrating more on his rôle as saviour of mankind and the world (iii 'salvador', iv 'Restaurador del Arbol de la Vida', v-vii 'Luz de los orbes'). The next stanza (77) develops this universal redemptive aspect of the Messiah with the image of him as the 'fountain of love' or 'life' which the world imbibes to achieve redemption (cf. Rev. 22.1). The humble birth is then contrasted with his rule over the world (78.i-ii 'Humilde nacerá, pero su imperio / Será de mar a mar...'), defeat of sin through justice (iii-iv 'al serpentino horror... / Con su justicia dejará cautivo') and abasement of idolatry (v-vii 'El culto de los dioses... / Desplomará...'). Reference is next made (79) to the 'perfect sacrifice' of the Messiah through which he confirms the bond with his people (79.i-ii) and ensures the rewards of life beyond death (iv 'la fe del beneficio'), to his rule over the world in peace (Príncipe de la excelsa monarquía' etc.) and to the rejection of other faiths by kings in order to follow him (vii-viii). Stanza 80 portrays the Messiah as Mount Zion (or Jerusalem), the bride-groom of the 'chaste bride' (ii, i.e. the soul), adding other names associated with him (iii 'Lucero! 'lirio'), and restates the idea of the Messiah as the favorite son of God and fulfilment of the word of God (v 'Benjamín', vii-viii 'palabra eterna' etc.). Finally, in stanza 81, the various names of the Messiah as given in Old Testament prophecies are gathered together (quoted above, p.217 )

It will immediately be observed that this portrait of the Messiah bears the stamp of Christian thought clearly imprinted upon it. There is nothing apparently heterodox here, nothing to which a devout Christian could object. Many of the elements of the story of Jesus which such a reader might expect to find are there: the 'son of God' idea, the rôle as saviour, the humble birth, the homage of kings bearing spices, the



self-sacrificing death, not to mention the fountain and the Jerusalem analogies, both derived from Saint John (Revelation), and the names given: 'Verbo' 'Luz' (both cf. John 1.1.) and the others, derived from the Old Testament but applied to Jesus.

On the other hand, we saw earlier (Chapter Four, p.119ff) in the case of La Culpa del primer peregrino how hints and nuances may suggest a tendency towards heterodoxy behind the façade of conventional belief. It is well to repeat also that none of Enríquez Gómez's printed works appear other than conventional, so that firstly, one must not expect to find any frank statement of faith - and secondly, the nuances are doubly important. Once more there is the Romance to legitimize the suspicion that the truth is otherwise than stated and that we must search for verification behind the surface meaning of the words presented.

In the whole of Book VII we have seen the themes of national and religious liberation at work, themes which in terms of Jewish messianic thought find their fruition in the person of the Messiah, who is to bring not only the triumph of his new Law and the age of peace and harmony, but also national freedom: both aspects are present in this portrayal of the Messiah in his dominance over the other nations and religions (see 'brazo sin segundo', 75.vi; 'doma al enemigo adverso', 76.i; submission of kings, 79.vii-viii cf. dominance over 'El culto de los dioses sin misterio' etc., 78.v). In addition to this confluence of themes, which may be regarded as 'Jewish', the national theme on its own points to a Jewish interpretation of the Messiah's identity, in that all the figures presented in the canto up to that point are worthies of Israel, all drawn from the Old Testament or the Apocrypha (Jewish writings of various periods not included in the Hebrew Canon). If this is so, what is more logical than that the figure who crowns this procession should also be a worthy of Israel - the Jewish Messiah?<sup>6</sup>

However, having said this, the actual picture given of the Messiah by Antonio Enríquez Gómez is too Christian for one to see it as totally ambiguous and open to acceptance as either Christian or Jewish according to the reader's preference. In view of the fundamental disagreements between the religions, for example, as to whether the Messiah has or has not come, whether he is to die etc. such a task would be difficult, not to say impossible to achieve. Further, there are two principal reasons why the portrait should be Christian. The first is that there is no proper Jewish model for such a personal description and traditionally Judaism, as seen in the Talmud, is interested only in the function of the Messiah and the events which precede and follow his Coming ( for example, the In-gathering of the Exiles and age of peace and harmony.) Thus, having chosen to present him as a figure comparable to those who precede him in Book VII, the poet had perforce to look elsewhere, naturally to the ideas with which he was familiar from his Catholic background. At the same time, if as we believe, he knew Génébrard's collection of messianic sources printed with the Chronographia (see Chapter 3, p. 78 and note 48) he may have found justification in the Sefer Methurgeman (Gén.p.50) for the inclusion of Isaiah 9.6 ('And he shall be called Wonderful' etc.) as a source, when traditionally it is held to refer to King Hezekiah.<sup>7</sup> The image of the 'fountain of life' (VII.77) could be supported by the same source's quotation of Psalm 45.2: 'diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis' (Meth., Gén.p.51) and its comment: 'Pulchritudo tua ex Christe exuberat prae filiis hominum'. (Note 'Christus' is the word used by Génébrard, passim , for Messiah, and is always italicized.)

Secondly, because it was a work intended for publication in a country where Judaism was officially proscribed (France), it had in any case to conform to what would be expected in such circumstances, it had to be recogni ably Christian. However, it represents the minimum possible in terms of Christian ideas, with an ambiguous reference to the death of the



Messiah, on the one hand, but no precision as to the manner of that death, on the other; he is 'hijo del Padre sempiterno' (76.viii) but never 'Cristo'. In this way the poet seems to allow a little room for ambiguity and alternative interpretation, in spite of the impositions placed upon him.

Accordingly, one can see the poet mitigating the Christian appearance of his portrait of the Messiah in the following ways. In some cases, he declines to elaborate where other writers might have done so; in others, subversion of the ostensible meaning seems to be intended; and lastly some elements in the description may seem Christian but may have been regarded as 'unexceptionable', by the poet with his Christianized background. These different approaches will emerge if we examine the main Christian elements of the description of the Messiah, in the order in which they occur in the poem. After that, comparison will be made with the similar passage in Miguel de Silveira's El Macabeo and then with the Messiah of the poet's own Romance.

1. The Messiah as 'son of God': This is first suggested in stanza 75 by the phrase 'imagen sacra del Autor del mundo...' etc. However, the same expression is used of Joseph (st.26), so that it could simply refer to his being specifically selected by God to fulfil a particular rôle in Jewish history. Conversely, it might be argued that the use of the same expression is evidence of the common Christian analogy between Joseph and Jesus, but, as there is no evidence elsewhere of Enríquez Gómez believing in allegorical types (see: Chapter Four), this is untenable. The next stanza, on the other hand, states unequivocally that the Messiah is 'el hijo del Padre sempiterno' (76.viii) (see also st.80 'Benjamín más regalado'). This difficulty is not insurmountable: firstly, the Book of Wisdom in the Apocrypha provides support for the idea in the following: 'For if the just man be the son of God, he will help him' (2.18), that is to say, all those who adhere to God's precepts are accounted 'sons of God'. (That Enríquez

was familiar with this Book can be seen from the interest in Wisdom Literature shown in La culpa; he also quotes Wisdom 7.1. in the preface to Sansón Nazareno, p.ii.7). Secondly, in view of the function of the Messiah as saviour of Israel and mankind and ushering in a New Age for the world, divine qualities and a divine origin would be a reasonable assumption to make, even though this runs counter to the Rabbinic view that the Messiah is entirely a human agent and in no way 'a superhuman Deliverer'.<sup>8</sup> Here, we see the influence of Christian ideas on the Marrano, as so often in religious matters: by dint of exposure to the Christian view of the Messiah as 'son of God', the Messiah awaited to save the Marranos from persecution is fashioned in the same image, even if his function is differently projected. Impulse in this direction may also have come from the kind of ideas found expressed in the Gênébrard excerpt from the Jerusalem Targum which, in connection with Genesis 49.10, comments 'Quam pulcher est rex Christus qui surrectus est de domo Iuda' and, in connection with Genesis 49.12, 'Quam pulchri sunt oculi regis Christi ad cernendum...' (both, Gén.p.53): these tend towards the eterealization of the Messiah, the moving away from the purely human plane. Lastly, one imagines that the success of Sabbatai Zevi, in comparison with the many other false Messiahs who appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,<sup>9</sup> was due in no small measure to interest centred on him personally as much as on the hope which he brought in general.

This conception of the Messiah would appear to represent a Marrano error, understandable in the circumstances and not counteracted (on the contrary encouraged) by the sources available. At the same time, while showing a non-Jewish concern with the person of the messiah and a belief in his more than human nature, the actual use of the formula 'son of God' may also represent a bowing to the necessities of censorship, going further than the poet might otherwise have wished.



2. Messiah as 'saviour': He is described as 'Perfeto Salvador del universo' (76.iii) and a torrent of love from which men drink life and salvation' (77). In view of the Messiah's rôle regarding the freedom of Israel and mankind, the idea essentially would seem unexceptionable from the Jewish point of view, although the connotation of being 'saved' through the person of the Messiah is not Jewish. But one saw in the Romance how this Christian attitude was seen to pervade the poet's view of the Law, so that it is not surprising to find it similarly expressed here.

On the other hand, the elaboration of this function in stanza 77 in terms clearly derived from Revelation 22:1 is perhaps more surprising:

And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. (A.V.)

As there, the 'líquido torrente' of Enríquez's description flows from the Messiah and the reference to the location as 'la nave del Templo militante' would appear to reflect the context of the quotation, which is that of a vision of the Celestial Jerusalem. However, corroboration for the use of such an image can be found in the discussion of Psalm 45.2 in the Sefer Methurgeman, already alluded to, and secondly, Enríquez is following Silveira in his use of it, in a manner moreover which is intentionally more restricted. Enríquez omits any reference to the 'Lamb' or to the idea of God and the 'Lamb' as jointly on the throne of heaven, the first of which would clearly have designated Jesus and the second constituted an acceptance of the concept of a shared Godship between Jesus and God; conversely, their omission would seem to indicate rejection of both. Likewise, although the mention of 'el Templo militante' reflects the context of Revelation 21 and 22, the very reference to it as the place in which the Messiah stands would appear to be a contradiction of the statement of Revelation 21.22: 'I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it' (i.e. of the Celestial Jerusalem). Enríquez seems to reject this image and talks of a real place, no doubt the Third Temple, which according to Jewish tradition will be rebuilt in the days of the Messiah.<sup>10</sup> At the

same time, he has again avoided the idea of a joint Godship.

This is a case where, although the image used to expand on a more or less acceptable idea has its source in a positively Christian area, elements which would mark that source with unequivocal clarity are deliberately omitted, producing the effect of an image of a generalized, non-specific nature: it is open to the Christian reader to recognise and delight in the use of the source, but it is not forced upon the reader of a different religious persuasion .

3. The 'Tree of Life': One of the descriptive terms applied to the Messiah in the passage just discussed is that of 'Restaurador del Arbol de la Vida' (76.iv). According to Christian doctrine, the crucifixion of Jesus redeems Man from original sin, or at least opens the way to grace through acceptance of this act as one of love and sacrifice for mankind; original sin being the tendency to sin inherited by men through the fall of Adam. Eternal life after death, symbolised in the Tree of Life, is granted or offered through Jesus. How far is this view reflected in this passage? Certainly the context is that of salvation, as the phrase follows that of 'Perfeto Salvador' and derives from Revelation 22.2, the verse following the source of the image of the 'fountain of life' (see st.77 and section 2 above). However, it has already been argued that salvation in a national and religious sense is seen as a function of the Jewish Messiah and that the Christian overtones of 'saving' are found elsewhere and are not necessarily indicative of acceptance of Christian doctrine. No connection is made between this blessing and the death of the Messiah, while he omits to make Miguel de Silveira's explicit association of the Tree of Life with the Cross (see 'Pendiente del Arbol de la Vida', Mac.XIII.48.iii). Enríquez thus avoids connecting this aspect with Jesus and ensures that we take the Tree of Life as 'life' and not as the Cross. It would seem from this that the poet is thinking only in terms of the sin of Adam as having made Man subject to death and that the advent of the Messiah will mark the end of death, the restoration of



the Tree of Life which God withheld from him because he took of the Tree of Knowledge (Gen.3.22)<sup>11</sup>

It may also be that, if we accept the interpretation of Valdecasas of the theme of original sin which recurs in the Academias morales de las Musas as a preoccupation with the New Christian's stigma of his birth, the poet is suggesting that the Messiah will lift that stigma from him and throw off the burdens of persecution and social disadvantage.<sup>12</sup>

4. Humble birth: 'Humilde nacerá' (78.i) is all that Enríquez Gómez says on this matter - another example of apparently remaining silent where the opportunity of expansion is offered. The word nacerá seems to point in the direction of the Jesus story - the birth in a stable etc. (Luke 2) but the expectation is immediately frustrated by the poet's refusal to elaborate. Rather he prefers to allude generally to the humble origins of the Messiah, from lowly estate, and not from among the ranks of the mighty, in accordance with a tradition more Christian than Jewish but apparently generally accepted amongst Marranos, to judge by the low rank and chequered lives of the false Messiahs who appeared in Spain from the first half of the sixteenth century onwards.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, the phrase is part of the contrast between the Messiah's lowly origins and his eventual power, derived from Zechariah 9.9-10:

- (9) behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation;  
lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt of an ass.  
(10)... and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from  
the river even to the ends of the earth. (A.V.)

In Enríquez's poem, the rest of the sentence provides the other half of the contrast and picks up the language of the second verse quoted: 'Humilde nacerá, pero su imperio / Será de mar a mar intelectual'. One observes that he abstains from any reference to riding upon an ass, preferring to take up only the word 'lowly' and extending it to refer to the humble

origin of the Messiah in general. Comparing this with 'Silveira's 'En animal humilde conduzido' (Mac. XIII.47), it would seem to be a case of deliberate avoidance of an important element in the New Testament story, one of the 'proofs' of the Messiahship of Jesus.

5. The death of the Messiah: 'Sellará la visión y profecía / Con su pueblo en perfeto sacrificio' (79.i-ii). The concept of the death of the Messiah is of course fundamental to Christian doctrine, in direct opposition to Jewish teaching (except as regards the 'Messiah ben Joseph' the idea of whose death may have arisen in response to Christian teaching.)<sup>14</sup> If, as is likely, Enríquez Gómez had read Générard's extract from Maimonides' Mishneh Torah (Gén.p.48-50), he would have known this to be the case, since there it is argued that the death of the Messiah ipso facto proves the falsehood of that person's claim (Gén.p.49, in particular with reference to Bar Kochva). The inclusion of the idea would seem to be proof of Enríquez Gómez's acceptance of Christian doctrine on this point, but, on the other side, to have omitted it would have shown beyond doubt the poet's heterodoxy and this would have been scarcely possible in a work published in a Christian country, where censorship of ideas was (at least in theory) in force, particularly by one who had already fallen foul of the authorities for an attack on the Inquisition (see Chapter Two).

Even without this compelling reason, the acceptance of this Christian idea might be explicable if one looks at the dissention which occurred later between Abraham and Isaac Cardoso over the messianic claims of Sabbatai Zevi. One particular bone of contention was whether the Messiah was to be abased or not, Abraham arguing in its favour on the basis of Isaiah 53 (particularly, v.3 'He is despised and rejected of men...'). In a letter to his brother he says that the only reason why others refuse to accept this argument is that Christians use it to support the claims of Jesus and that they fear to 'dar armas a los Xtianos' (fol.4)<sup>15</sup>. He does stop short of arguing that the 'Messiah ben David', as opposed to the



'Messiah ben Ephraim (or Joseph)', his precursor, is destined to die, yet his acceptance of the abasement idea is evidence of how far he was prepared to go in the direction of Christian thought and the quotation of Psalm 22.1: 'My God, why has thou forsaken me...?' can be seen as evidence of the imprint of his Christian background, although his Jewish sincerity is not in doubt. If Abraham Cardoso with his great knowledge of Judaism and its sources could reach this point of compromise, then it would not be surprising if others with lesser knowledge would find it possible to go even further and accept the idea of the death of the Messiah itself.

The absence of the idea from the Romance suggests that Enríquez Gómez was aware that it was not a Jewish belief. On the other hand, if he did not accept it at that stage, his continuing personal preoccupation, with martyrdom at the period of writing Sansón Nazareno may have led to the evolution of his views in that direction. The phrase 'perfeto sacrificio', though vague, does appear to denote death. The same phrase, occurs in Enríquez Gómez's version of Psalm 51.19: 'Corazón contrito y humillado es perfeto sacrificio' which is used in Luis dado de Dios (p.25) with the suggestion that the sacrifice to be made is that of the heart i.e. in repentance, not physical death. On the other hand, in the Romance, the 'sacrificio prefecto' (1.336) of Lope de Vera is indeed his death. Together the two sources give the full meaning of the phrase: the highest sacrifice is to give one's life for God in a spirit of self-subjugation and humility, that is to say, martyrdom. In this spirit both Lope de Vera and Samson die: it may well be that Enríquez Gómez saw the Messiah in the same light, that in his case too death would be the ultimate proof of his sincerity. But this does not imply an acceptance on the poet's part of the Christian interpretation of that act, for it is significant that he does not refer to the Messiah dying for the sins of mankind or even for the sake of others, rather as a bond between himself and Israel ('su pueblo'). In the Romance, he made his objection to the idea, arguing that each must pay for his own sins (1.239ff.), but this did not preclude the idea of the Messiah dying as

a gesture of faith to Israel.

And, although the lines following those with which we have been concerned may appear to refer to that death as a token of the promise of eternal life: 'Y en los caudales del luciente día / Sustentará la fe del beneficio' (79.iii-iv), they could also be read as an indication that all who are martyred in the cause of Israel's faith are rewarded in the same manner as Lope de Vera who dies in the full hope that he will see God after his death (ll.373-6). As if to underline such a non-Christian interpretation of the death of the Messiah, one notes that there is no reference in this passage to the manner of that death, to where it takes place, nor to any subsequent resurrection.

Thus, a personal preoccupation may have brought Enríquez Gómez to something akin to Christian doctrine or at least to the point where he could permit himself to express without too much repugnance ideas which he was in any case obliged to.

6. 'Incense and myrrh': Describing the rule of the Messiah, Prince of peace, stanza 79 adds 'Y repudiando las gentiles leyes / Incenso y mirra le darán los reyes.' (79vii-viii). The adoration of the three kings before Jesus in the manger is a well-known scene of the New Testament and the reference to 'frankincense and myrrh' is found in Matthew 2.11. However, as this is not particularly related to the birth of Jesus in any way, this would seem firstly to reflect the traditional form of homage described in various places in the Old Testament, for example: Isaiah 60.6 'they shall bring gold and [frank-]incense' and Psalm 66.15 'I will offer unto thee .... the incense of rams ' (cf. myrrh and frankincense as the perfumes fit for a king, Song of Songs 3.6). Secondly, not only does it not relate to the Messiah's birth, it appears to be associated, according to the previous lines, with the end of the Messiah's progress, when he rules the world as 'Principe de la excelsa monarquía' (79.v). At this point, the kings -



all kings, not only three Magi - will renounce their own laws or religions and accept the new Law of the Messiah. This is highly reminiscent of the Romance: 'Ley nueva de aquellos siglos/ obedecerán diez pueblos' (11.515-6) an allusion to Zechariah 8.23, where the ten men who 'take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew' represent all the nations of the world in obeisance; and '... la Ley y el Nombre santo / temerán todos los pueblos./ En Jacob serán benditas / las gentes... (11.545-8). Even if the lines of Sansón Nazareno can be seen as applying equally to Jesus, from the point of view of the Christian reader, it would appear that Enríquez Gómez, as in other cases, has chosen not to make the expression of it precise and limited to the Christian interpretation: indeed it relates to a specifically 'Jewish' situation expressed elsewhere in the Romance.

7. The Messiah/Zion image: 'Este es el monte de Sion sagrado / Esposo dulce de la casta esposa' (80.i-ii). In Saint John's vision of the Celestial City, he depicts Jerusalem as 'prepared as a bride for her husband' (Rev.21.2), Jesus being the groom. In Enríquez Gómez's version, the Messiah himself is Jerusalem, the husband of the 'casta esposa' (identified below). The transference of rôles is not necessarily significant, as the bride/groom or 'esposa/esposo' image is common both in the Bible (e.g. Isaiah) and in seventeenth century Spanish poetry, particularly mystical, and is thus capable of re-interpretation in many different ways. At the same time the impression is still of an echo of the Book of Revelation, with 'Sion' as the heavenly rather than the earthly city, which makes it odd that the Messiah should be identified actually with the city and dwelling place of the Messiah of Saint John's version. On the other hand, Enríquez Gómez refers to Joel as 'clarín' (59.vii) when it is clear from the preceding lines that this is a transference of the idea of the 'shofar blown to call the dead to judgement to the prophet who describes it: it is then only a question of phraseology and image, Sion being identified elliptically with the Messiah. 'La casta esposa' may still be Jerusalem or - and this would clarify matters somewhat - it could be the soul of the righteous,

suggested by the use of the adjective 'casta'. This would be supported by the view expressed in La culpa del primer peregrino:

La Celestial Sion marauillosa  
Ierusalen triunphante de los Cielos  
Es de los sanctos soberana esposa.

(Culpa p.121.6-8)

Celestial Sion, or heaven, is the groom which the righteous aspire to reach through the leading of pure and uncorrupted lives. In view of the frequency of the bride/groom image, as we have said, the divergence this represents from Revelation might not be significant.

On the other hand, it may be, on the contrary, that the alteration is the more significant for being a variation on a well-known New Testament image. In 2, above, omissions with respect to the image of the 'fountain of life' were found to be important, so too perhaps here. The poet evokes the writing of John, but only to avoid the identification of the 'esposo' with the 'Lamb' as Revelation 21.9: 'Come hither, I will shew thee the bride (i.e. Jerusalem), the Lamb's wife', and by the ellipsis of Messiah and Sion so that they both signify 'esposo' he appears to eliminate Jerusalem as the 'esposa', contrary to John's designation. Further, the use of the adjective 'sagrada' rather than 'celestial' might suggest that he has the earthly Jerusalem in mind, not the heavenly one. The bride would still be the soul of the righteous, as indicated by La culpa, but the meaning of the whole image would be different: the souls of the righteous will rise with the Resurrection of the Dead to profit from the Messianic Age, during which Zion will be rebuilt and the Messiah reign from there, as described in the closing lines of the Romance:

Con la vara de su boca  
domará los idumeos,  
y en la gran Jerusalaim  
tendrá su divino asiento.  
Saldrá de allí la palabra  
y de Sion el concepto,  
y la Ley y el Nombre santo  
temerán todos los pueblos.<sup>1.6</sup>

(Rom.11.539-46)



If this is the true sense of the Messiah/Sion image, then it would be another example of the poet, while evoking a Christian association, declining to be too specific and allowing another interpretation to show through.

8. The Virgin: There is a possible but not conclusive reference to the Virgin in the line following those just discussed, where the Messiah is described as 'lirio plantado / En el verjel de la purpúrea rosa' (80.iii-iv). The image of the orchard for the womb is one which Enríquez Gómez uses earlier in connection with the birth of Samson:

Era el fuerte Sansón santificado  
En la divina de su madre esfera,  
Arbol viviente que, al quedar plantado  
En estéril verjel, dio primavera.  
(I.7.i-iv)

There the 'verjel' is positively described as sterile or barren, so that this may also be implied here, with the idea of inviolate or virginal. 'La purpúrea rosa', suggestive of blushing with innocence, possibly points in the same direction.

As against this interpretation one may argue that the idea of virginity is scarcely emphasised, if it is there at all. Both Dalida and Dalestina are depicted as coy maidens but neither is seen as the epitome of purity and moral virtue: the image of the rose is no more than descriptive cliché. Moreover, the very absence of the adjective 'estéril' in VII.80 may indicate that the idea of barrenness or virginity is precisely not intended, despite the use of the same analogy of human gestation and plant growth as in I.7. (If there is no connection between the two instances then there should be no reason to alter our earlier view that an analogy between Jesus and Samson is not intended.) Further, the emphasis of the whole phrase quoted is on 'lirio' rather than on 'verjel', as the second of a pair of terms relating to biblical prophecies concerning the Messiah; the first being 'Lucero de Jacob' from Numbers 24.7, at the beginning of line iii, the second derived

from Hosea 14.5: 'he shall grow as the lily'. The rest of the phrase which relates to 'verjel' (de la purpúrea rosa') is no more than an embellishment based on the Song of Songs 2.1: 'I am the lily of the valley, the rose of Sharon', in which the valley is represented by the image of the orchard - a reference to Hosea triggering off a reminiscence of a source with which the poet was familiar (see p.144 above).<sup>17</sup> At the same time, 'purpúrea' is also a familiar adjective applied to blood (see IX.52 'purpúreos mares de nadante fuego') and a reference to the so-called 'birth-pangs' of the Messiah may also be intended.

Looked at in this way an allusion to the Virgin can be excluded in reality, although there is a superficial suggestion of it, perhaps sufficient to fulfil the obligation of a reference to an element considered essential from the Christian point of view.

Summarizing the above analysis of phrases and interpretations, one can say that the idea of the Messiah as 'son of God' (1), as 'saviour' (2) and of the death of the Messiah (5) are all examples of what had to be obligatorily included but which would largely coincide with the opinions of the poet or with what he might have regarded as 'unexceptionable' from the Jewish point of view. The image of the 'fountain of life' (2), in its omission of reference to the 'Lamb' or to sharing of the heavenly throne with God; that of the Tree of Life (3), not linked with the Cross; the reference to a humble birth, without mention of important New Testament elements (4); the merely superficial allusion to the Virgin (8) all appear to be examples of deliberate non-elaboration. In other examples of this kind, non-elaboration could be regarded as positively subversive, as in the reference to incense and myrrh (6), associated with the triumph of the Messiah, not his birth, and the variation on Revelation in the Messiah/Zion image (7), both of which correlate with passages of a definitely Jewish nature in the Romance. The evocation of Zechariah 9 but without mention of riding upon an ass might also be viewed as 'subversive'.



To the last one may add the outright negation of the Christian view seen in stanza 79's reference to 'sealing up the prophecy' ('Sellará la vision y profecía / Con su pueblo en perfeto sacrificio ', 79 i-ii), contrary to the command in Revelation 22.10: 'Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.' The poet in this way returns to the source in Daniel 8.26: 'shut thou up the vision for it shall be for many days' and invites us to go back to the same prophecy of Daniel which he elaborated and explored in the Romance. There the prophecy was of a Jewish character, pointing to a Messiah who had not yet come (nor yet would until the end of the sixth millenium, albeit with the process beginning in contemporary times); here, the implied negation of the time being 'at hand' suggests that salvation is still for the future and not to be found either in the past or in acceptance, in the present, of Christian teaching. Further, the bond which the prophecy seals, through the 'sacrifice' of the Messiah, is made with 'su pueblo' i.e. Israel, not with mankind in general. This in turn suggests that the 'gentiles leyes' abandoned in 79.vii are what they say - gentile faiths, not that of Israel. This accords with the theme of national liberation which, as has been seen, runs through this canto and the whole poem.

Further evidence to support the impression that the author does not entirely believe in the Christian view of the Messiah, indeed opposes it, can be seen in a negative way, in the absence of elements in the description of the Messiah which one might expect in a wholly Christian portrayal. The principal of these is the crucifixion: the phrase Enríquez Gómez uses, 'perfeto sacrificio', is non-specific and does not suggest any particular form of death. As for the Cross itself, this is not mentioned, even though Christian thought makes it the focus of the idea of the correlation between the death of Jesus and freedom from original sin ( a correlation which, as we have seen , Enríquez does not make in connection with his Messiah). Not to have made anything of this symbol seems extraordinary, if Enríquez Gómez is to be seen as a conforming Catholic: it only makes sense if we

see him as a Judaizer. It does not help either to point to the poet's tendency to gloss over facts or details, however, crucial, if they are well known, as in the reference to Samson's jaw-bone weapon as 'asta irracional' (VIII.47) without explaining its origins. The fact remains that, despite the culto obliqueness the object is actually referred to which is not the case with the Cross.

In addition, there is no reference to the Resurrection of Jesus, nor to any of what might be considered important aspects of his life or teaching. The reference to the Virgin is far from clear and that is another element which one would have expected the committed Christian to have made more of. If one adds to these the earlier examples discussed of non-elaboration etc., one is left with the unmistakable impression that Antonio Enríquez Gómez has deliberately chosen to present a Messiah who, though Christian in many respects, is only invested with the minimum possible degree of Christianity and who, while not, on the other hand, fitting in with Jewish ideas in some respects and not to the extent of the Romance, reveals glimpses of that other view behind. One has the feeling that if he had been given a free hand these Christian trappings would have been cast aside and he would have presented a completely Jewish figure which the progression of the canto in fact demands.

Enríquez Gómez's Messiah and that of Miguel de Silveira: We know from the preface to Sanfón Nazareno that Silveira's El Macabeo was very much the model which he set himself to imitate and, one imagines, surpass. In Book VII we have an example of that modelling. This canto as a whole is based on Book XIII of El Macabeo, in which Silveira's hero, Judas Maccabeus, is shown a vision of heaven and the Celestial City, with the dead Mattathias as his guide. Mattathias predicts the eventual victory of the Maccabean revolt, the re-dedication of the Temple and the appearance of the Messiah. The similarities with Enríquez's work are obvious: the dream vouchsafed the hero, which predicts his triumph but places it in the wider context, the



occurrence of this vision just prior to the events which lead to the dominance of the hero in each case (the Ramat Lehi incident in Sansón; Eleazaro's triumph over Dorida and in battle in El Macabeo), the figure of the heavenly guide (less personalized in S.N.), the location of these events in a heavenly temple. In addition, Enríquez Gómez has enlarged on Silveira's reference to the procession of 'Profetas, Sacerdotes, Patriarcas' of Israel, in stanza 53 (i), to make it the central core of his vision.

The last point represents an important shift of emphasis between the two poems, particularly in conjunction with another point, which is that Silveira's location is based extensively on the description in Revelation 21 of the Celestial Jerusalem (e.g. the twelve gates inscribed with names of the tribes of Israel, Mac.XIII.19 cf. Rev.21.12; the walls adorned with gems, Mac.XIII.22-4 cf. Rev.21.19-21), whereas Enríquez Gómez's 'Templo de la Fama', while obviously celestial, is not derived from that source. His temple is a simple, functional, if symbolic structure, radiating light and supported by four columns representing the statesmanly virtues of Justice, Prudence, Moderation and Fortitude (S.N.VII.7): it is simply the abode of rewarded virtue. Indeed, he seems to go out of his way to deny any connection with St. John's vision by stating that this is the 'verdadero templo' (S.N.VII.6), in contradiction to the view of Revelation 21.22. that there is no temple in the Celestial Jerusalem but 'the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it'. At the same time, bringing into prominence of the 'varones de Israel', out of the brief mention by Silveira, and the stressing of the context of national liberation, while eliminating the element of the Celestial City, throws into relief the figure of the Messiah and automatically relates it to that national theme, whereas Silveira's emphasis on a highly Christian cadre immediately marks his Messiah with a Christian identity, over and above the evidence of this from his actual description of him in Book XIII.44-54. Thus, in a situation of apparent similarity, differences of perspective between the two poets emerge at the outset.

Turning to compare the descriptions of the Messiah himself given in each poem, Silveira's version is as follows (Mattathias speaks to Judas):

Expeleràs, con mano poderosa,  
De Olimpio la fantastica Quimera:  
Mas esta no es al mundo la famosa  
Reustauracion[sic] del Templo que se espera.  
Que nacerà la planta milagrosa  
De raiz de Iessè, pura, sincera,  
Cuya diuina flor de humano velo  
Desposarà la tierra con el Cielo.

45.

Pequeño nacerà, mas nuevo Atlante,  
Sustentarà del mundo el sacro Imperio;  
Admirable su nombre, que al Gigante  
Oprima en afrentoso cautiverio.  
Darà biuo esplendor su luz brillante  
Al superior y al infimo Emisferio;  
Fabricarà la paz gloriosos muros,  
Que estèn Cedros del Libano seguros.

46.

Vendrà rompiendo la tiniebla obscura,  
Donde se oprime la mortal milicia,  
Armado del candor de su luz pura,  
Succinto en equidad de su justicia:  
Estrella de Israel, donde se apura  
Otra diuina luz, que el Sol codicia:  
Hijo del, que esta máquina gouierna,  
Palabra de su boca sempiterna.

47.

En animal humilde conduzido,  
Sin que a tanta Deidad la pompa estorbe,  
Congregarà Iacob ya desparzido  
Por dilatados terminos del Orbe.  
El Sol del orto, purpuras vestido,  
Al mar, que de esplendor pielagos sorbe,  
Suspenderà virtud, que al mundo embia,  
Porque este formará mas claro dia.

48.

Redimirà la forma reprimida  
Con diuino coral del pecho fuerte,  
Y pendiente del arbol de la vida,  
Lauarà los contagios de la muerte:  
La parte humana al seno conduzida  
De los sepulcros de gloriosa suerte,  
Porque penetre el Caos del Limbo ciego,  
Renacerà en las llamas de su fuego.



49.

Serà pacto de vida sempiterno  
 Entre Dios, y el espiritu abrasado,  
 Y el solio de David su trono eterno,  
 En sus misericordias fabricado.  
 Conduzirà de amor con laço tierno,  
 Al culto de su Templo consagrado,  
 La turba de las gentes infinita,  
 Que por remotos terminos habita.

50.

Romperà con su voz tartareos velos,  
 Penetrando los gremios del abismo,  
 Veranse nuevas fabricas de Cielos,  
 Y su diuino Autor el Templo mismo.  
 Infundirà su aliento ardientes zelos,  
 A ritos del profano barbarismo,  
 Porque los troncos del eterno luto,  
 Broten renuevos de glorioso fruto.

51.

Mira la tierra abierto el tenebroso  
 Seno de Abraan, electa compañia,  
 En cuya obscuridad del sitio umbroso  
 Angelico esplendor les forma el dia;  
 Vn aliuio neutral, sino glorioso,  
 Les comunica alada Gerarquía,  
 Que el Cielo en las tinieblas muestra obscuras  
 Sus afectos de amor con almas puras.

52.

Quando en aspectos de gloriosa forma  
 Haze su voluntad sacros empleos,  
 El gozo del objeto se transforma  
 En la neutralidad de sus deseos.  
 El rigor en la pena no se informa,  
 Ni ostenta alli la gloria sus trofeos;  
 Que como propria accion no determinan,  
 Nunca gozan del bien, ni del mal declinan.

53.

Profetas, Sacerdotes, Patriarcas,  
 Que el sucessivo premio galardona,  
 La estirpe de Iuda, Santos Monarcas,  
 Que de Israel lustraron la Corona,  
 Decretos derogando de las Parcas,  
 Cuya segur al tiempo no perdona,  
 Aguardan libres del corporeo velo,  
 El que à de abrir los porticos al Cielo.

54.

Tanto trono por lei se les concede,  
 Trono que no distingue el pensamiento

Si es incorporeo ò cuerpo donde quede  
 En hebras de fulgor texido el viento;  
 Y para que esta junta, el solio herede,  
 Que de estrellas matiza el firmamento,  
 Espera al que ascendiendo a cumbre altiva,  
 A la captiuidad lleue captiua.

(Mac.XIII.44-54)

If Enríquez Gómez's description was seen as Christianized, Silveira's appears as fully Christian, to the point where the identification of the Messiah with Jesus is obvious from the start. Stanza 44, referring to the restoration of the Temple by the Maccabeans, draws the distinction between that Temple and the true one, in terms that clearly point to the image of Revelation 21.22 with the implication that the Messiah is the true temple and that the Messiah is Jesus (cf. Enríquez's comment on the 'true temple', above, p. 237): 'Mas esta no es al mundo la famosa / Restauracion del Templo que se espera / Que nacerà la planta milagrosa etc. (Mac.XIII.44.iii-v; see also 50 iii-iv). The quotations from Isaiah 11.1 and 9.6 which follow (44.v-45.vii, detailed below) reinforce this impression, since these are passages associated by Christianity with Jesus. Other overtly Christian associations are there: the stressing of the image of light, derived from John 1.1 (stanzas 45.v, 46.iii, 47.v), the direct reference to riding on an ass (47.i.), to the Cross and the piercing of Jesus's breast (48.iii and ii), to the Resurrection (48.v-viii) to the inter-relation between his death and the promise of eternal life for all (49), stressing that this reward is to be achieved through his person (49.iv,v-viii). Further, one can point to the elaboration of the description of the 'New Jerusalem' descending to earth (51-4 cf. Rev.21.2), which ties the Messiah firmly in with the vision of John in the Book of Revelation, and the picture presented of the virtuous dead - the leaders of Israel etc. - all awaiting the advent of this Christian Messiah to serve him, reflecting a working back from the New Testament absent from Enríquez Gómez's poem. A wholesale imbibing of the Christian perspective can also be seen in the mystical phraseology employed by Silveira; for example, the 'humano velo' of



the Messiah and his function described as 'Desposará la tierra con el Cielo' (44.vii & viii), his death as redeeming 'la forma reprimida / Con diuino coral del pecho fuerte' and washing away 'los contagios de la muerte', the bringing of the nations to him through love not military conquest, indeed the over-all stress on this kind of figure, rather than the more robust 'varón' of Enríquez Gómez's presentation.

In the use of biblical sources, one can see a positive slant towards the Christian view in the Silveira passage. It opens with several references to Isaiah 9 and 11, which, as we have already observed, are particularly used by Christians with reference to Jesus: 'nacerà la planta milagrosa / De raiz de Iessè' (44v-vi) cf. 'there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots' (Is.11.1; 'planta' and 'flor', Mac.XIII.44.vii, correspond to 'rod'/'Branch' in Isaiah); 'nuevo Atlante, /Sustentará del mundo el sacro Imperio' (45i-ii) cf. 'and the government shall be upon his shoulder' (Is.9.6; also, 'pequeño nacerà', 45.i, cf. 'unto us a child is born', Isaiah, loc.cit.); 'Admirable su nombre' (45.iii) cf. 'and his name shall be called Wonderful' (Is.9.6); 'Fabricará la paz gloriosos muros' (45.vii) cf. 'The Prince of Peace' (Is.9.6); 'Congregará Iacob ya desparzido' cf. 'And he... shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah' (Is.11.12) The passage closes with several references to the vision of Revelation 21, which are in addition to those made earlier in the canto: 'Veranse nuevas fabricas de Cielos' (50.iii) cf. 'And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven' (Rev.21.2); 'Su diuino Autor el Templo mismo' (50.iv) cf. 'for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it' (Rev.21.22)<sup>18</sup> 'electa compañía' (51.ii) cf. 'And I saw the dead, small and great stand before God... and the dead were judged... according to their works' (Rev. 20.12); 'El rigor de la pena no se informa, /Ni ostenta alli la gloria sus trofeos' cf. 'And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes...neither shall there be any more pain' (Rev.21.4); '[Profetas etc.] aguardan libres del corporeo velo / El que a de abrir los pórticos al Cielo.' (53.vii-viii)

cf. 'Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.' (Rev.22:14); 'Tanto trono por lei se les concede' (54.i) cf. 'And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it' (Rev.20.11). The development of the image of light, after John 1.1-9 has already been mentioned - it occupies much of the first stanzas of the description. The same source's reference to the 'word' may also be echoed in stanza 46.viii's 'Palabra de su boca sempiterna', though in the context of other quotations from Isaiah it may derive from Isaiah 9.8: 'The Lord sent a word into Jacob'. His description of the Messiah riding on 'an humble animal' ie. an ass may also derive from Matthew 21.7-9 rather than Zechariah 9.9, since (unlike Enríquez Gómez) he does not go to contrast this with his rule 'from sea even to sea' (Zech.9.10), but to point out that the demonstration of humility does not impare his regal pomp ('Sin que a tanta Deidad la pompa estorbe', 47.ii) which is reminiscent of the reactions of the people as described by Matthew: And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved....' (Mat.21.10).

By contrast, Enríquez Gómez appears to have drawn his details from a much wider range of sources, though these include some that Silveira uses. He makes reference, like him, to Isaiah 9.6 ('Prince of Peace' idea in S.N.VII 79.vi & 81.ii) as well as to Revelation 22.14 (Tree of Life, S.N.VII.76.iv), John 1.4 ff. ('light', S.N.VII.76.vi) and 1.1 ('word', S.N.VII.75.vi). One notes that, in connection with Revelation as a source, he concentrates on a different, single image (cf. Silveira's use of the whole vision of John), the 'fountain of love' and makes of it a more generalized affair (see above, p.225-6 ). On the other hand, his description contains references to many Old Testament sources; indeed these are the majority as compared with New Testament ones. Examples are: Numbers 24.17 ('star out of Jacob' / 'Lucero de Jacob', S.N.VII.80.iii), Isaiah 60.12 (destruction of disobedient kings cf. 'doma al enemigo adverso', 76.i); Isaiah 2.3 (rule of Messiah from Jerusalem, 80.i-ii, according to inter-



pretation given, above, p. 232); Zechariah 9.9-10 (humble origins/universal empire contrast, 78i-ii). One notes particularly his summary of prophecies in stanza 81, drawing on Exodus 23.20 ('alado mensajero'), Isaiah 9.6 ('Ceptro de paz'), Ezechiel 34.24 ('sagrado Consejero'), Jeremiah 31.31 ('Pacto divino'), Zachariah 11.16 ('manso cordero' sic, actually 'shepherd', probably a confusion with 'Lamb' of Rev.21.23 etc.), Malachi 3.1 ('Angel del firmamento') and Psalm 89.19 ('Brazo sin segundo'). To underline the point once more, Silveira uses only two New Testament sources basically (Revelation and John 1) and an Old Testament source appropriated by Christianity. It can be pointed out too that some of the apparently New Testament sources used by Enríquez Gómez may in fact derive from his use of Silveira as his model (e.g. the 'light' image).

To take this further, despite the differences in level of Christian intensity between the two versions, Silveira's description remains the model for Enríquez Gómez's and in many respects the resemblance is close indeed. The structure of the passages is broadly the same: the presentation of the Messiah (Mac.XIII.44 cf.S.N.VII.75), his origins and redemptive rôle (Mac.XIII.45 cf.S.N.VII.76), his rule (Mac.XIII.47 cf.S.N.VII.78), his pact with men/Israel, signed through his death (Mac.XIII.48 cf.S.N.VII.79), and finally the 'New Jerusalem' / Mount Zion image (Mac.XIII.50 cf.S.N.VII.80). The differences consist in, firstly, the change of direction already mentioned, namely the presentation of the Messiah as the climax of a procession of national and religious heroes, as compared with Silveira's vision of these figures of Israel in obeisance to his Christian Messiah. Secondly Enríquez Gómez's description ends (apart from the final summing up) with the Mount Zion analogy but 1) this is open to a non-mystical interpretation (see above, p.231-2) and 2) even if it were to be taken as referring to Celestial Sion, it is hardly emphasised and is not presented as the climax to a sequence which, in Silveira's case, as a whole derives almost entirely from the Book of Revelation (Book XIII passim) Silveira's passage opens out into an extended panorama on the theme of the Celestial City while Enríquez

Gómez directs his description towards a summation (stanza 81) which links his Messiah with the historical sequence of his whole canto.

Thirdly, and related to the second point, Enríquez's description is entirely orientated towards the national-religious perspective, while Silveira's is concerned largely with salvation of a more general and theological kind (see stanzas 48-9 especially). Fourthly, Silveira develops the image of the 'light' in several ways over a number of stanzas (44-7), while Enríquez Gómez mentions it only as one of several descriptive terms (stanza 76) or as a separate rephrasing of the 'fountain of life' image, unrelated to the John-derived Messiah/light idea (77.v-viii). Lastly, Enríquez Gómez omits most of Silveira's references to Isaiah 9 and 11, as if wishing to avoid extensively employing a source closely identified with Christian teaching. One may summarize these differences as 1) the linking of the Messiah with the main theme of the canto and poem as a whole and 2) the minimizing of the Christian elements in his source, Silveira.

This second point can be seen particularly if one examines the correspondances in language and imagery between the two passages:

a) 'Mas esta no es al mundo la famosa / Restauracion del Templo' (Mac.XIII.44.iii-iv) cf. 'Y en la nave del Templo militante / Beber el mundo el agua de su fuente' (S.N.VII.77.iii-iv)- Enríquez's version does not identify the Messiah with the temple, rather this is the setting for the Messiah / 'fountain' and designates either the rebuilt Temple in Jerusalem in the Messianic Age or perhaps broadly that Age itself.

b) 'Pequeño nacerà, mas nuevo Atlante / Sustentarà del mundo el sacro imperio' (Mac.XIII.45.i-ii) cf. 'Humilde nacerà, pero su imperio / Serà de mar a mar' (S.N.VII.78,i-ii) - The same contrast is made between humble origins and ultimate power, but Silveira's use of 'pequeño' points more directly to the New Testament story as well as to 'unto us a child is born' of Isaiah 9.6; the image of 'Atlante' closely draws the connection with this second source: 'the government shall be on his shoulder', since Atlas



in Greek mythology carried the world on his shoulder. Enríquez picks up the word 'humilde' from Silveira's stanza 47, which underlines the more strongly his omission of any reference to riding on an ass by pointing to where his source makes that reference. This in turn leads us to realize that he has rejected Silveira's use of Isaiah 9 for the second part of the humble origins/power contrast and has preferred instead to go to Zechariah 9.9-10 (as 'de mar a mar' indicates i.e. 'from sea even unto sea'). The use of this source but without reference to the ass stands out the more strikingly, just as in connection with the birth of the Messiah he has managed to on the surface suggest a Christian allusion but in fact to slide away from it.

c) 'Fabricarà la paz gloriosos muros' (Mac.XIII.45.vii) cf. 'Príncipe... Ejercerà de paz el raro oficio' (S.N.VII.79.v-vi) - both relate to Isaiah 9.6 ('Prince of Peace') but, whereas Silveira uses it in conjunction with other titles derived from the same verse of Isaiah (see, above), Enríquez transfers it to become part of his picture of the triumphant Messiah exactly as he does in the Romance (1.538)

d) 'Darà biuo esplendor su luz brillante / Al superior y al infimo Emisferio' (Mac.XIII.45.v-vi) cf. 'Siendo la suya [antorcha] ... farol viviente en campos de zafiros' (S.N.VII.77.vii-viii) - the idea of the Messiah as shining as a light from heaven is present in both, but Enríquez moves it out of the context of John's image of the 'light' by referring to 'antorcha' rather than 'luz' and by taking it away from the environment of 'prophecy fulfilled' (cf. Silveira and John) to use it as a development of the fountain of life' image in a way moreover familiar to him as seen elsewhere in his poetry. There is also absent the idea of uniting heaven and earth seen in Silveira's lines, a reflection to the 'son of God' idea and John's progression of Jesus as the 'Light' to the 'Word made flesh' (John, 1.14); Enríquez's image is more of a straight analogy between Messiah and sun.

e) 'Vendrà rompiendo la tiniebla obscura... Succinto en equidad de su justicia' (Mac.XIII.46.i-iv) cf. 'Y al serpentino horror del hemisferio / Con su justicia dejarà cautivo' (S.N.VII.iii-iv) -

Enríquez Gómez omits the repetition (or continuation) of the 'light' image and concentrates on the idea of crushing sin through justice, which reminds us of the social solution to the burden of Adam's sin (see 'serpentino') given in La culpa del primer peregrino (see above Chapter Four) as opposed to the suggestion of mystical grace in Silveira's version.

f) 'Redimirà la forma reprimida.../ Y pendiente del arbol de la vida/ Lauará los contagios de la muerte' (Mac.XIII.48.i-iv) cf. 'Sellará la visión y profecía / Con su pueblo en perfeto sacrificio / Y... Sustentará la fe del beneficio (S.N.VII.79.i-iv)- We saw earlier (p.226) how Enríquez Gómez had dissociated the idea of the Tree of Life (76.iv) from the death of the Messiah. It is clear from the comparison with Silveira's version that the intention is to eliminate the correlation between that death and salvation or eternal life and to get away from the symbolism of the Cross as the Tree of life which is directly indicated by Silveira. One notes too the concrete quality of the latter's description, in the manner of a 'pietà' as compared with the other poet's vague but personalized phrasing.

g) 'Serà pacto de vida sempiterno / Entre Dios y el espíritu abrasado/ Y el solio de Daudid...' (Mac.XIII.49.i-ii) cf. S.N.VII.79.i-iv (quoted above, item f). Silveira's lines are a further elaboration of the discussion of the death of the Messiah and spells out clearly the idea of the connection between the promise of eternal life and the death of the Messiah. The pact, moreover, is one which involves God and 'el Espíritu abrasado', the pure purged soul and which is vouchsafed through 'el solio de Daudid' i.e. Jesus, the 'son' as the inheritor of that Throne in his capacity as Christian Messiah. This compares with Enríquez's 'su pueblo' which in the context of national liberation clearly indicates Israel the nation as the beneficiary rather than all those who acknowledge Jesus. Silveira's reference to worship of the Messiah's 'Templo consagrado' (49.vi) further points to Jesus and a situation of universal redemption as opposed to the more limited, national, intention of Enríquez Gómez.

h) 'Veránse nuevas fábricas de Cielos / Y su diuino Autor el Templo mismo' (Mac.XIII.51.iii-iv) cf. 'Este es el Monte de Sion sagrado/ Esposo dulce de



la casta esposa' (S.N.VII.80i-ii) - Silveira's version is directly and unequivocally related to the vision described in Revelation 21, while Enríquez Gómez's represents at least a blurring of such a connection and probably a meaning of a non-Christian kind (see above pp.231-3)

In conclusion, as regards the portraits of the Messiah presented in El Macabeo and Sansón Nazareno, there is no doubt that Antonio Enríquez Gómez has used Miguel de Silveira's work as his model and followed him closely in many respects. At the same time, he appears to have shied away from the overtly Christian tone of his model and radically altered its perspective to key in with his own dominant national and religious themes. It may well be that his seeking to imitate a model at this point in his poem, whatever the changes he makes, betrays an awareness of his own lack of belief in the Christian garb of the figure he presents and that he saw in Silveira's poem a guide as to what was acceptable in Christian eyes, which he could imitate without betraying his true feelings. Perhaps he saw the work of his fellow New Christian and literary colleague as going too far in the direction of conformism and thought that he could sail closer to the wind and be more honest with himself.

The Messiah in 'Sansón Nazareno' and the 'Romance': To approach the messianic passage of Sansón Nazareno, Book VII from the point of view of the Romance al divín mártir is to travel in exactly the opposite direction from that taken in the previous discussion. There is little doubt about the Jewishness of the Messiah in the latter poem: any possible Christian references have been avoided. No reference is made to the Messiah as 'son of God', to the death of the Messiah, to the Tree of Life, to a humble birth or a virgin mother, nor to the abasement of the Messiah in any way. There are no images which derive solely from the New Testament sources also used by Christianity.

There is no attempt, indeed, at a description of the Messiah as a

person and little even in terms of his actions - his rule and his overcoming of 'los idumeos', indicating the defeat of idolatry (where Edom signifies Rome, Christianity). The whole emphasis of the sequence, from the beginning of the messianic prophecy to the end, is in fact on the preliminaries to the Coming, rather than on the Coming itself, in keeping with the Talmudic view of the Messiah as simply ushering in the New Age and as having no intrinsic importance in himself. Hence, the description of the rule of the Law from Jerusalem (1.543) and of the nations being blessed 'en Jacob' not through the person of the 'saving' Messiah (1.547)

The description in Sansón Nazareno would appear to put the stress in precisely the opposite way, as there is nothing in the way of depiction of the events which lead up to the Coming, except in so far as the Messiah is viewed as the last in the biblical sequence. No reference is made, unlike in the Romance to the 'birth-pangs' of the Messiah, the cataclysmic events and sorrows befalling Israel prior to his coming, nor to the signs of this event, such as the re-emergence of the ten Lost Tribes (cf. Rom. 1.469-72), though this may arise from a wish not to avail himself too much of Isaiah 11, for reasons already indicated (for reference to the In-gathering, see Is. 11.12). The absence of an Elijah figure as precursor to the Messiah is common to both poems, although the 'hombre fiero' of the Romance (1.510) takes on this rôle and the omission in both poems may be inspired by a desire not to possible Christian associations with John the Baptist (see Chapter Three, pp. 81-2).

However, this impression of emphasis on the Messiah in contrast to the preliminaries is partly mitigated by the context of the biblical sequence just mentioned and by the fact that some of the prophecies relating to the events preceding and following the Messiah have already been mentioned in connection with the figures previously described. The description of David (st. 40) clearly anticipates the messianic Coming as does that of Daniel (st. 55), where the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks is mentioned. The stanza concerned with Hoseah (58) mentions the captivity of the 'Nueve tribus y



medio' and perhaps the references in the following stanzas to the fulfilment of prophecies regarding the Second Temple might also hint at the future emergence of these tribes - but this is hardly emphasised. In a similar way the omission of any reference to the Resurrection of the Dead is made up for by its mention in connection with Joel in stanza 59, and this would be a case of an element mentioned in this poem but not in the Romance. At the end of Book VII (st.81), Antonio Enríquez Gómez summarizes the various prophecies relating to the Messiah, showing that he does not see the Coming in isolation from the history which precedes it.

If we go on from this to restate that the Messiah of Sansón Nazareno is conceived of in function and intention, if not in appearance, as the Jewish Messiah, the saviour of Israel, we can perhaps see that there is some degree of similarity between the two poems, for the Romance is beyond doubt concerned with the Jewish Messiah, moreover in the same context of persecution and hoped-for revenge. Further parallels between the two works can be seen as follows:

a) The names of the Messiah draw upon the same sources: Numbers 24.17 - 'Estrella que baja del oriente' (S.N.VII.75.v) and 'Lucero de Jacob' (S.N.VII.80.iii) cf. 'Por la parte del oriente, / amanecerá un Lucero / nueva Estrella de Jacob' (Rom.11.535-7); Isaiah 9.6.- 'Príncipe .../ Ejercerá de paz el raro oficio' (S.N.VII.79.v-vi) cf. 'Príncipe de paz eterno' (Rom.1.538); Numbers 24.18 ('And Edom shall be a possession') in the case of 'con la vara de su boca (Is.11.4) / domará los idumeos' (Rom.11.540-1) and possibly in the case of 'Este que doma al enemigo adverso' (S.N.VII.76.i), Edom being the traditional enemy of Israel.

b) Each involves the obeisance of other peoples towards the God and Law of Israel: 'repudiando las gentiles leyes, / Incenso y mirra le darán los reyes' (S.N.VII.79.vii-viii) cf. 'la Ley y el Nombre santo / temerán todos los pueblos' (Rom.11.545-6). As has already been seen, in the Sansón Nazareno passage, the poet inverts the New Testament 'Wise-men' scene by describing this homage as taking place at the climax of the Messiah's

mission and the comparison with the other poem suggests that it was the same idea in the Romance which he had in mind.

c) Each passage ends with a reference to the Messiah in relation to Jerusalem: 'Este es el Monte de Sion sagrado' (S.N.VII.80.i) cf. 'en la gran Jerusalaim/tendrá su divino asiento' (Rom.1.541). If we are right in suggesting that the first quotation refers to the earthly Jerusalem, not the Celestial City, then again it would seem to correlate with the Romance and its interpretation would be the same, namely that the Messiah is seen as establishing the rule of the 'word of God' on earth from the Holy City, as described in Isaiah 2.2-3 (also Micah 4.1-2):

- (2) And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all the nations shall flow unto it.
- (3) And many people (Micah: 'nations') shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

There is a difference in that 'palabra' is taken to mean the Law in the Romance and as a designation of the Messiah in the other poem, in the sense that his Coming is the fulfilment of God's promise. The change reflects the difference of perspective between the two poems already noted, with the stress on the function in the one and the person of the Messiah in the other, but he may still have in mind the notion that the Messiah's Coming will bring about the supremacy of the 'word' in the sense of the Law.

d) Finally, the overall progression of each description is the same in respect of the common features noted: 'the names of the Messiah' (though not necessarily the same in each case) introducing the passages (S.N.VII.75



cf. Rom. 1.535 ff.); the conquest of others i.e. the triumph of the Messiah (S.N.VII.76 cf. Rom. 1.540); obeisance to God and Law (S.N.VII.79 cf. Rom. 1.545 ff.) the rule from Jerusalem (S.N.VII.80 cf. Rom. 11541-4). The last two are in reverse order in the Romance but the ideas are inter-related.

Having said this, however, about the correlations between the view of the Messiah as presented in the two works, it still remains true that in Sansón Nazareno the influence of the Christian view is strong, even if one can construe this as being merely on the superficial plane and not a true image of the poet's beliefs. These beliefs are found expressed in the 'Romance al divín mártir', which, we may say, represents what Antonio Enríquez Gómez would have written in Sansón Nazareno had he been unfettered by the need to appear orthodox to his Christian readers and to the authorities. On the other side of the equation is the portrait of the Messiah in Miguel de Silveira's El Macabeo which represents the Christian viewpoint and the model to be followed in order to express that view-point acceptably. The Messiah of Sansón Nazareno can therefore be seen as the attempt to achieve a compromise between these two opposing poles - the true beliefs of the poet, on the one hand, the acceptable Christian model, on the other. Thus, this Messiah is both more Christian than he would have wished and less Christian than others would have rendered it. Between the Romance and Sansón Nazareno is all the difference between the unpublished manuscript and the published work; between El Macabeo and the Sansón, all the difference between acceptance with apparent enthusiasm and reluctant acquiescence.<sup>19</sup>

### C. Personal themes

Several aspects of Sansón Nazareno point to the conclusion that the poem represents the feelings of the poet towards his ancestral faith and his identification with the Jewish people. This is seen in his choice of a hero from the Old Testament, and to some extent of the choice of this particular one, his interest in the biblical hero for his own sake and not

as a christological symbol, and in the importance attached to the elaboration of the twin themes of national liberation and religious messianism. Thus, the poem as a whole can be viewed as the expression of the poet's personal feeling and in that sense what has already been said as regards the national and religious themes can be considered as forming part of the discussion of 'personal themes'. However, there are two particular themes which may be considered under this heading, those of martyrdom and inter-marriage.

i) Martyrdom: The theme of martyrdom corresponds to the poet's need to examine the depths of his feelings, his sense of commitment, given that martyrdom is the ultimate manifestation of the willingness of the individual to give himself for a cause. Certainly, it is a theme which appears to have preoccupied Antonio Enríquez Gómez, since it is to be found both in Sansón Nazareno and in the Romance, poems written within a short time of one another and in which the theme is dealt with in a similar manner. Both are concerned with a hero who dies a martyr's death and in both cases that death is preceded by a declaration of commitment and a prayer to God in which the willingness to die is expressed (Rom. 11.267-311 and 11.319-80 cf. S.N. XIV.58-64). In each case, the prayer section (Rom. 11.319-40 cf. S.N. XIV.58-9,61) has affinities with the Amidah prayer in Jewish liturgy (see Chapter Four, p.151 ff.). Both heroes die for the sake of the Law, Lope de Vera in order not to break faith with it, Samson to uphold its dignity even though he has broken it. (Rom. 1.337: 'muero por tu Ley' cf. S.N. XIV.61,i-ii: 'Yo muero por la Ley que tú escribiste, / Por los preceptos santos que mandaste'); both die for Israel, Samson in order to bring about her physical salvation, Lope in the sense that his death is a token of his espousal of the Jewish cause (S.N. XIV.61.iii-vi: 'Por el pueblo sagrado que escogiste/... Muero por Israel' and 62.i-viii: 'Yo me ofrezco a la muerte por que sea./ Redimido mi pueblo' etc. cf. Rom. 1.271: 'Peregrino en Israel seré' and 11.294-5: 'inaciones, yo soy hebreo!/ ¡Judío soy, castellanos!'); both die ultimately for God, Lope in the knowledge that his soul will be united with



God beyond death. Samson in the hope that God may enable him to achieve the liberation of Israel and his own forgiveness, with perhaps the same reward as Lope de Vera in the end (Rom.11.369-80 in particular: 'en el mundo el venidero / veré al Señor. etc. cf. S.N.XIV.vii-viii: Dame aliento, Señor, para vengarme / Y tu auxilio eficaz para salvarme.').

Looking elsewhere in Sansón Nazareno, to the Messiah presented in Book VII, we have already seen the parallel between the death of that Messiah, contrary to Jewish teaching, and that of Lope de Vera, arising out of the poet's preoccupation with the martyrdom theme. The use of the phrase 'perfeto sacrificio' (S.N.VII.79.ii) linked up with the state of moral preparedness of Lope de Vera before his death (also that of Samson) and the idea of 'la fe del beneficio' seemed to correspond to the belief of the Romance's hero in life after death and offer the same hope to all who die a martyr's death in the cause of the faith. (see above, p.230). In short, the gesture of faith of the Messiah seemed to be of the same kind as those of Lope de Vera and Samson.

There is evidence, further, within the Sansón, of the importance given by the poet to this theme. One notes how in Book VII the Messiah is not alone among the worthies of Israel as a martyr: Jeremiah (VII.54) for example, is described as:

Este que canta endechas, alabando  
Del sagrado Eloín el Nombre eterno,  
Es Jeremías, cuya palma y lirio  
Le da la Ley corona de maritiro.

(S.N.VII.54.v-viii)

In stanza 56, the 'Three Children', Shadrak, Mishak and Abednego, die for their love of God, while Mattathias 'entre las aras del suplicio / se ofrece por su Ley al sacrificio'(72). Death is seen as the proof, beyond doubt of the strength of the individual's faith.

Enríquez Gómez's treatment of the Ramat Lehi incident (Book VIII) also

reflects this preoccupation. In a way which prefigures his ultimate fate, Samson is presented as giving himself up for the sake of his people and in the confidence of God's support, when he accedes to Zabulón's request that he should be bound and delivered to the Philistines. Zabulón couches his request in terms of such a self-sacrifice:

Baja, Sansón, de la soberbia cumbre  
Y redime tu pueblo, porque seas  
En la pira del sol divina lumbre,  
Sagrado imán de lámparas febeas;  
Abate con esfuerzo y mansedumbre  
Deste dragón las fuerzas giganteas,  
Serás a un tiempo, con igual partido,  
Triunfante vencedor, siendo vencido.

(S.N.VIII.33)

Samson argues at first that to fight is better than to accept Philistine domination, but then he suddenly gives way to Zabulón saying: 'Postrese mi valor siempre triunfante / Por dedimir su noble nacimiento'. In doing so, it would seem that he is accepting the idea of martyrdom for the sake of Israel, in the conviction that with God on his side he will win through. Since he is at this point still faithful to God, indeed going towards the zenith of his moral standing, he does not in fact die, but the intention and the commitment are there.

Clearly the notion of martyrdom deeply interested the poet, but what of its significance in relation to his personal ideas and feelings? Firstly, one may imagine that in expressing the thoughts of Lope de Vera and Samson as regards the Law and the supremacy of the One God, he is giving a reflection of his own views. Like Lope he would be able to say, also:

¡Judío soy, castellanos!  
la Ley de Mosseh confieso,  
dada en monte de Sinai,  
por el Autor de los cielos.

(Rom.11.295-8)

and with Samson he would hope for the immediate end to 'Philistine' tyranny:



Ea, Señor eterno, agora agora  
 Es el tiempo que tu espíritu divino  
 Favorezca esta mano vencedora,  
 Para que acabe el duro felestinó!

...

¡Mueran los enemigos de tu Nombre!

(S.N.XIV.63.i-iv,viii)

But, secondly, as we saw in Chapter Two, in putting forward these thoughts and in particular in treating the situation of the martyr of belief, he is asking himself the question whether his commitment is of the same order as that of the heroes whom he describes: Could he too be a martyr for his faith? Of course, we need not take this literally, rather it is a symbol of strength of feeling or willingness to commit oneself to the cause of Judaism.

In the two poems one can see the problem being analysed in its different facets with the Romance broadly corresponding to the ideal of belief and conduct and Sansón Nazareno dealing rather more with the realities of the poet's situation and past. To take the Romance first, Lope de Vera represents complete identification with the Jewish cause, in one who, historically, was not even of New Christian blood (as Enríquez Gómez was in part), and perfect faith in Judaism which he adopted, as well as the belief in God's reward for his actions after death. Moreover, when faced with the real situation of torture and execution at the hands of the Inquisition,<sup>20</sup> who one observes are directly referred to in the poem (l.301: 'la vil Inquisición'), he behaves in an exemplary manner, undeterred by the physical suffering which he has undergone and is about to suffer in his dying. Further, he has not sinned by allowing his faith to lapse in any way (cf. Samson), indeed has gone on increasing in fidelity to it as he lives through his trials: he is thus entitled to expect that his 'supremo sacrificio' will lead to heavenly reward. Lope, then, is the ideal which the poet puts forward of how the truly committed judaizer should act when placed in such circumstances, an ideal to which he himself could aspire were there not other factors to consider.

These are seen in Sansón Nazareno: while he too is the symbol of commitment and faith - the champion of his people and his religion - there is one major blot on his moral copy-book, in that he has sinned by betraying the secret of his strength to Dalida or, more profoundly, by placing his trust in his own person rather than in God so that he neglected his duty to God. In his reply to Balonte's taunts, he explains how he sinned three times 'con los ojos' and was twice forgiven by God, but on the third occasion he was punished:

Tres vcces con los ojos he pecado,  
 Grave delito en hombre nazareno,  
 Tres mujeres sin fe me han engañado  
 Y tres veces cuarenta me condeno;  
 Dos veces el Juez me ha perdonado,  
 Mas la tercera, como justo y bueno,  
 Dijo con la sentencia escrita en fuego:  
 Con los ojos pecó, pues quede ciego.

(S.N.XIV.44)

The crime of which he is guilty he expresses as that of loving 'Tres mujeres sin fe' i.e. who were both faithless and were not believers in the true faith. Could this be an allusion to the poet's own situation on which he, like his father before him, had married a woman who was not of New Christian stock? In any case, the poet may have recognized that he had more in common with Samson, who had lapsed in this way - perhaps he put it down to his 'mixed marriage' that he had not been as punctilious in his crypto-Judaism as he might have been - than with Lope de Vera who remained the paragon of fidelity to the end.

Moreover, it is noticeable that in the portrayal of Samson at the end of his life great stress is laid on his repentance, both in his speech to Balonte where he declares that tears from within will bring God's forgiveness:

¡Mas ay! que me dirá la voz divina:  
 Lloro, Sansón, y lava tu pecado,  
 Que el llanto es la corriente cristalina  
 Donde quede el delito perdonado;  
 Pero, dirá la fe, si es pergrina:



Señor de los ejércitos sagrado,  
 Los cristales del alma están adentro  
 Y sonarán más vivos en su centro.

Ya sé que son los ojos una escala  
 Por donde sube el hombre al solio puro,  
 Que aquel humor que el corazón exhala  
 Cristalino vapor taladra el muro;  
 Pero, si este rocío se me tala,  
 Otro tengo en el alma más seguro,  
 Que aquél pasó por caños visuales  
 Y éste por arcaduces celestiales.

(S.N.XIV.45-6)

and in his final prayer where he confesses: 'Pequé, Señor, pequé, yo me condeno,/ Misericordia pide el Nazareno' (S.N.XIV.59.vii-viii). The response of God to his prayer in giving him the strength to pull down the temple can be seen as proof - or at least the poet's fervent hope - that those who repent their ways, particularly those who do so by giving their lives for God, Israel and the Law, will be forgiven by God. Indeed, though Enríquez Gómez does not see himself, obviously, as a Samson, saviour of Israel, it would seem that in his portrayal of Samson imploring God for the restoration of his strength, the poet is expressing his own prayer for strength to commit himself for the same ideals as Samson. As a 'sinner' he may not be able to aspire to heavenly reward with complete certainty, as Lope de Vera can, but he might expect to be granted the capacity to give himself totally and with the same prospect of reward as Samson.

This does not mean, however, that Antonio Enríquez Gómez saw himself returning to Spain as a martyr, to give himself up to the Inquisition. At most, as we have concluded earlier (see Chapter Two, pp. 41-5), he may have thought himself prepared to die a martyr's death if need be, but not to seek it. Otherwise the question is to be taken figuratively: martyrdom represented in the persons of Lope de Vera and Samson the highest level of commitment against which he could measure himself. Though he might concur with Lope in matters of faith, he could not match his fortitude and perfection. He had more in common with Samson, the defaulter, since

he had not considered openly declaring his Judaism until this time and even now he hesitated. At the same time, he identifies with the high degree of faith to which Samson returns, as exemplified in the hero's final prayer, which as we have seen is paralleled by Lope's own prayer at the beginning of the second speech in the Romance. Each represents the common expression of the poet's soul. In this way, he demonstrates that his Judaistic faith is firmly based and that his rejection of the 'Amsterdam alternative' did not represent a complete betrayal of his beliefs. Whether or not he was literally going to follow the example of Samson Triumphant, he would be the equal of Samson Penitent, mindful of his failings until such a time as he might decide to leave for Italy or Amsterdam.<sup>21</sup>

In Sansón Nazareno and the Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente, the poet posed the fundamental questions of what he believed and how strongly, and he appears to have resolved them to his own satisfaction. In doing so he appears to have found renewed faith in the supremacy of the Law of Israel, the Oneness of God and, above all, the certitude of redemption for Jews of all degrees of faith whether in the person of the Messiah, as in the Romance, or in an 'intermediate saviour who would, as in Sansón Nazareno, destroy the Empire of Babel. The uncertainty of his latter years in France in this way brought a new sureness of belief which could support him both in his immediate troubles and in his precarious life back in Spain.

ii) Inter-marriage: The other personal theme in the Sansón has already been alluded to, that of 'mixed marriage' or more generally any liaison between Israelites and non-Israelites. It is dealt with particularly in connection with Samson's first live-affair, with the Timnaite Dalestina, the only one he marries, but it extends to the other affairs with the prostitute of Gaza and Dalida and all three are linked together as regards the moral to be drawn from these events.



In the case of Dalestina, Samson is shown as recognizing the problem of the differences in race, if not of religion, from the very start. He says to her when he first meets her: 'aunque tu nacimiento dificulto,/ Amor con vista le dejó igualado' (S.N.1.52.iii-iv). But in his defence of his love before his father, he clearly shows that he sees it as a problem of his religion, since he recognizes the dangers to the literal observance of the Law: he may have changed but this cannot be changed(II.8). On the other hand, he understands that there is a greater, divine purpose in all this:

Y si la religión con su pureza  
Esta junta divide mal segura,  
Repara que el impulso que la mueve  
A solo su poder la causa debe.

(S.N.II.13.v-viii)

The poet himself underlines the point: 'Los que parecen actos indecentes/  
Tiene Dios por aciertos celestiales'(II.33.iii-iv).

Still, the general principle is that mixed-marriages are forbidden and fraught with disaster, as subsequent events prove. Other writers and commentators feel it sufficient to state in Samson's defence that behind this marriage lies God's plan to provide an excuse for revenge which will lead to his destruction of the Philistines;<sup>22</sup> Enríquez Gómez, however, makes a point of mitigating his offence by demonstrating that Dalestina goes some way towards accepting Samson's religious views. This is shown in the discussion which they engage in, where she recognizes God as the only Creator and appears to intimate that she will eventually adopt his faith (at least Samson gains this impression: III.15 'Gozoso el joven de apagar el fuego/ Que en el ara gentil ardió cometa' ):

- Ya sé - responde Dalestina - cuanto  
Se venera en tu pueblo peregrino  
El inefable Nombre sacrosanto  
De un soberano Autor, un Dios divino;  
Bien sé que el bello, el transparente manto  
Que dora ese planeta diamantino..  
Y cuanto ilustra desde polo a polo  
La deidad reconoce de un Dios solo.

Amor que sabe con divino culto  
 Almas ligar, violando religiones,  
 Sabrá, con el poder que tiene oculto,  
 Unir en una fe dos corazones;  
 No del cielo que tengo dificulto  
 Estas nuevas de amor transformaciones,  
 Pues se juzga la sangre filistea  
 Fénix al sol de la nación hebrea .

(S.N.III.13-14)

The reason for this could be that, being married to a woman of Old Christian stock himself, he is well aware that such a marriage may be wrong in principle and that differences of religion can create dangers and dissention, but that there may well be attenuating circumstances, especially the willingness of the 'foreign' partner to go along with the (crypto-) Jewish one in this matter. Since Isabel Basurto left for France with him, it would appear that she was not totally hostile to her husband's beliefs (assuming he was not able to keep them completely from her) and when later she went with her son to the Low Countries, it may simply have been the result of a disagreement over whether it was wise to return to Spain or not.

One notes that the portrayal of Dalestina is throughout sympathetic; she truly loves Samson and her dilemma when threatened by the Philistines to obtain the answer to the riddle from him (III.53.ff) is shown as genuinely acute and the attempt to resolve it motivated by the highest concern for love and honour. Samson, for his part, recognizes this and continues to love her, despite her treachery which forces him to reject her (see IV.60 'Yo intentaré vencer mi pasión...'). When he later tries to regain her but finds her remarried, he blames, not her, but the Philistines in general and her father in particular. Finally, out of love for her he swears that he will avenge her murder at the hands of her kinsmen (V.65). If in the end it is inevitable, as it appears to be, that this kind of marriage will fail, this is because of forces outside the individuals concerned. Samson says to the Philistines when he hears the riddle declared: 'os reveló [Dalestina] mi pensamiento, / Llevada de la fuerza de su infancia!'



(IV.53) There is no way of fighting the forces of upbringing or 'race': they create circumstances which even sincere love cannot overcome. Enríquez Gómez shows his fellow Marranos how such a relationship with an 'outsider' can come about and ask for understanding, while with infinite sadness acknowledging the inescapable outcome that will follow.

If he is sympathetic in his treatment of Dalestina, he nonetheless demonstrates that he appreciates the dangers of these liaisons with 'foreign women'. All three women are classed by Samson at the end of the poem as 'mujeres sin fe' (XIV.44.iii), with the play on words suggesting that they are faithless because they are non-believers. This echoes Emanuel's opinion (II.21) that all Godless beauties are in fact ugly: 'Hermosura sin Dios lunar es feo'. Samson goes on to elaborate the connection between the three women in Book XIV.50: Dalestina betrayed his riddle but she was 'inadvertida', innocent and naive; the prostitute in Gaza put his life in danger; and Dalida, the worst of all, sold him for money. The conclusion is not spelt out and there is of course the dimension of Samson's moral guilt arising from his conduct in the poem as a whole, but there is certainly the suggestion that part of his decline is due to his having sought women who were not of his people and religion and in doing so lessened his ability to keep faith with God. This is particularly true in the case of Dalida, whose importunings finally induce Samson to break the precept set upon him. Perhaps one can see a parallel between Samson and his secret, symbolic of his special status vis-à-vis God, and the need of the crypto-Jew to keep hidden his secret faith. In each case, revelation may lead to death - underlining the point that this theme of relations with non-Israelites is both a personal matter and one which is relevant to the general situation of the Marranos.

\* \* \* \* \*

Out of the biblical story of Samson, Enríquez Gómez has developed

national, religious and personal themes, as we have described. Each of them forms part of the poet's expression of commitment. Each springs naturally from what is given in its source in the Book of Judges, which is concerned in general with national and religious consolidation by the newly established nation of Israel in the Promised Land. From Samson's part in this process emerge the poet's national and religious themes, which are subsequently drawn together and projected in to the future in the theme of messianic redemption. Samson's loves and his death promote the personal theme of mixed-marriage and martyrdom. In this way the elaboration of these themes enhances the biblical story and forms a unit with it. It is because he thought the story of Samson capable of being expanded in this way without distortion the source that Enríquez Gómez chose it - in addition to its obvious epic potential.

It is now necessary to consider the poem from this latter point of view, as an epic in relation to the epic tradition in Spain in the first half of the seventeenth century. This aspect of the poem may potentially come into conflict with the harmony of elements so far perceived; however, here too it will be seen that Enríquez Gómez's approach reinforces the impression of Sansón Nazareno as an integrated statement of his religious and 'national' allegiance.



Notes to Chapter Six.

1. It is the element of antagonism towards New Christians irrespective of their actual religious beliefs and simply on the grounds of their family origins, descended from converted Jews, which may properly be regarded as anti-semitic i.e. arising from a general and irrational hatred of Jews. To what extent the Inquisition was motivated by such racial attitudes is a matter of continuing debate: see, for example, A.M.Salazar's review of Caro Baroja's work, Los Judíos en la España moderna y contemporánea, in The Jewish Journal of Sociology vol.7 (1965), 118-28.
2. Ed.J.de Entrambasaguas, Madrid, 1951, vol.1, p.98, lines 1-4.
3. Note that although the last stanza of the canto (81), quoted above, refers to Moses in connection with a messianic prophecy (Balaam's ass, Numbers 24) the earlier stanzas (29-30) concerning him contain no messianic references.
4. cf. Manasseh ben Israel, Esperanza de Israel, Amsterdam, 1650, p.90.
5. cf. Antonio de Vieira's 'syllogism' alluded to in Chapter Three, p.93
6. The progression from Old Testament to the Messiah might be taken as representing that from the Old Testament to the New, but while the poet may leave this open as a possible interpretation, he does not impose it through references to Jesus's teachings, disciples etc.
7. See the Soncino Chumash, ed.A.Cohen, London, 1947, p.470 (note to Haphtarah Yithro, 15.9.5-6)
8. See A.Cohen, Everyman's Talmud, p.347.
9. Several of these are referred to by Caro Baroja, op.cit. vol.1, pp.405-16; for Sabbatai Zevi, see G.Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, London, 1955, pp.287-324, who portrays him as a manic depressive, who in his exalted states had considerable charisma and power of suggestion over others.
10. The tradition is referred to in the portion from the Sefer Methurgeman relating to Song of Songs, 1.17 in Gênébrard's Chronologia Hebraeorum,

- p.52: ' quae aedificanda est [Sanctuarium] diebus regis Christi '.
11. See discussion concerning the poet's view of original sin, Chapter Three, p.117-24, above.
  12. J.G.García Valdecasas, Las 'Academias morales' de Antonio Enríquez Gómez, Seville, 1970, pp.57-67, while one would reject his view that the poet's standpoint is that of a sincere Catholic unfairly accused of judaizing, it may well be that his preoccupation with the theme does reflect his New Christian background.
  13. J.Caro Baroja, op.cit.loc.cit.(note 8 above).
  14. Christianity, conversely, would seem to have evolved the idea of a 'Second Coming' to provide the hope for the future that is in the Jewish perspective cf.N.Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium, London, 1957, p.23.
  15. Bodleian Library, Opp.Add.MS.4<sup>o</sup>, 151; see: Y.H.Yerushalmi, Isaac Cardoso, p.335.
  16. The source is in Isaiah 2,2-3 or Micah 4,1-2. The reference here to 'la palabra' ('the word of the Lord') may suggest that its use in S.N.VII.80.vii may derive from the same source, not John 1.1.
  17. For the contrast of (lily-)white and red, cf.La culpa, p.13.17-8: 'Lilio cándido y bello,/que entre coral se guarda...'
  18. Silveira refers to God as the Temple here and to Jesus in stanza 44.
  19. The true feelings of Silveira towards Christianity may be in doubt, but not the impression of Christian enthusiasm displayed in this canto(XIII) and in El Macabeo as a whole (see Chapter 4, note 60)
  20. The Inquisition did not strictly speaking execute anyone themselves, but handed them over to the secular authorities; nonetheless, it was done at their behest.
  21. See Chapter 2, note 39, concerning the poet's reported plan to leave for Naples.
  22. This is the view reported by Cornelius a Lapide, Commentaria in Josue, Antwerp, 1617, p.160.



Chapter Seven: 'Sansón Nazareno' and the Epic tradition.

At the period in which Sansón Nazareno was written, the literary epic had in its theory and practice evolved to a position where, on the one hand, respect was paid to the classic examples of the genre, the Iliad and the Aeneid, and to the critical theorists who had expostulated on it - Aristotle and Horace - while, on the other hand, it had developed its own traditions based on the practice of principally Ariosto and Tasso.<sup>1</sup> Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata in particular became the 'new classic'. The two sides, the classical ideal and the contemporary practice, were fused together by the Italian commentators such as Scaliger, Vida, Trissano, Castalvetto, Minturno and Tasso himself, establishing ideals which influenced not only Italian writers but those of Spain and other European countries. In Spain, the epic developed its own special characteristics, namely:

- 1) a predilection for subjects drawn from recent history (contrary to Tasso's precept of 'not too recent not too old')<sup>2</sup>, especially those concerned with their national epic, the conquest of America;
- 2) at the same time, the weaving in of fictional elements into 'history' in the manner of Ariosto's Orlando furioso (following Tasso's recommendation but pursued to a greater extent than by him);
- 3) a taste for devotional topics, especially the lives of saints, which persisted as a counter-stream with respect to the historical epic and which, contrary to Tasso's advice, included discussion of articles of faith.

Now let us consider Antonio Enríquez Gómez's poem against this background, with reference firstly to the theories which he expounds in the Prologue to Sansón Nazareno and, secondly, to his practice in the poem itself.

A. The 'Prologo'

Enríquez Gómez's Prologue is of considerable interest in that it goes beyond the usual defence of the author's topic and plea for indulgence

(though these are much in evidence) to elaborate the poet's ideas on the epic genre and other literary matters, to draw a thumb-nail sketch of the literary society of Madrid in the 1620's and '30's and to compile a more or less complete list of the poet's works published up to that date (1649). Some literary discussion in prefaces was not uncommon, though certainly not the rule, but Enríquez Gómez's is probably unusual in the way it broadens out to include the other two elements mentioned. The last of these, the catalogue of works, is found in only two other cases in the period, according to A. Porqueros Mayo,<sup>3</sup> those of Lope's El Peregrino en su patria (1664) and Suárez de Figueroa's Pusilipo (1629), and the same critic singles out Enríquez Gómez's 'pequeña historia de la literatura española' as being of special interest in a prologue. Moreover, this prologue stands out from among those written by the poet for his other works, which confine themselves to the particular work they introduce: in view of the circumstances surrounding the composition of the poem, it may well be that he thought that this would be his last opportunity to explain himself in such a manner and thus seized upon it in order to stake his claim to be ranked among the leading lights of a brilliant period in Spanish Literature, as well as to declare to the world the works upon which his claim was based. In this sense, it is the poet's literary testament.

The Prologue begins with a declaration concerning the superiority of divinely inspired works i.e. those dealing with biblical characters as opposed to those drawn from secular history, whether true or invented ('hazañas') or pagan mythology ('todos los dioses fabulosos de la gentilidad'). After pointing to the biblical theme of his own work (p.ii)<sup>4</sup> and making the first of his appeals for indulgence (expressing the hope that he has not been over-ambitious) he then proceeds to discuss the great epics of the past (Odyssy, Iliad, Gerusalemme, La Lusiada) and to argue the claims of his fellow New Christian, Miguel de Silveira's poem El Macabeo to be the greatest epic written in Castilian (p.iii). While he bases his argument on literary criteria, particularly the rules of the genre, it is clear that



it should be seen in the context of the argument regarding biblical themes, according to which El Macabeo would as a matter of course fall into the highest category of epic. This section ends with another plea to his readers, this time that his Sansón be judged fairly and without prejudice (there are references to 'invidia' and the opposition of 'los zoilos, cínicos, momos', possibly encountered by Enríquez for his religious or political views).

With the declaration that 'No todos pueden escribir por un estilo', he begins a panorama of literary figures, each with an epithet or phrase to describe what he considers to be their particular talent or virtue. As one would expect from the initial statement, his selection is eclectic: classical writers such as Horace and Juvenal; great Italians of the Renaissance - Ariosto, Petrarch, Dante etc. ; contemporary Frenchmen - Dubartas, Brébeuf, the brothers Corneille; and finally the outstanding figures of the Spanish Golden Age - Boscán, Lope, Góngora, Luis de León etc. Following this, he turns to his own past as a writer of comedias to discuss the works of Lope and other playwrights, particularly those who, like Enríquez Gómez were in Lope's circle. (Calderón merits only a passing mention; loyalty to the school of Lope may well be the reason). In order, as he explains, to set the record straight, he then lists all his plays, twenty-two in number, written in the majority in Spain,<sup>5</sup> followed by a list of his prose and poetic works from the period 1640-49 (in fact 1641-49, beginning with Triumpho lusitano of 1641)<sup>6</sup> and those which he proposed to produce in the future.

At this point (p.viii), he rings the changes on the usual Horatian claim to the effect that the present work has been produced at the cost of many years of labour and study, by explaining that owing to parental neglect in this regard, he had no formal education but was self-taught. He nonetheless manages to work in the traditional reference to past efforts with his remark: 'no trabajé poco en mi juventud'. Despite a further denial that he is guilty of pride, he proceeds to laud the particular virtue of

each of his own non-dramatic works and in doing so, because of the breadth of topics and styles they appear to present, he neatly winds up his previous argument in favour of 'diversity' in literature. By fitting his own works into this argument - no doubt the purpose of the exercise - he demonstrates that he has not moved so far from the traditional purpose of the prologue, to woo the reader.

He concludes (p.viii) with a statement which has both a serious and a comic purpose, namely that only Holy Writ is perfect for 'las demás perfecciones se rozan con la materia'. On the one hand, this is a re-assertion of the supremacy of biblical themes in that they imitate that which is perfect and partake of something of that perfection; on the other, it serves as an introduction to a comic anecdote which illustrates the vanity of certain authors and their blindness where their own works are concerned. Expressing once more his tolerance of other writers ('no me acuerdo haber leído libro malo'), a repetition of the 'diversity' argument, he attacks the cardinal sin (in his eyes) of vanity, relating a dialogue between Luis Vélez and 'el Señor M.' in which the latter denied being the St. Thomas of all poets on the grounds that he ('el Señor M.') would never confess his error. Finally, Enríquez Gómez reiterates his belief in literary tolerance, presumably in the hope of evoking equal tolerance in others and acceptance for his claim to be without vanity himself.

One can see immediately that this prologue has, notwithstanding some degree of originality, many of the features one expects to find in the prefaces of the period: the defence of the topic chosen, the appeals for indulgence, references to the great classical and modern precursors in the genre, the claim, somewhat inverted here, to have expended much time and effort in the writing of it, the use of quotations to support one's arguments, appropriately, in view of the poet's opinion on biblical themes, from the Bible and not from classical authors (e.g. 'También yo...soy hombre mortal' cf. Wisdom 7.1). Nonetheless, there is much besides: his literary views



which we must now consider in detail (his opinions of other writers will be referred to where illuminating).

a) Biblical themes: Enríquez Gómez nails his colours to the mast from the first words of his Prologue, with his reference to Solomon, 'el Príncipe de la sabiduría' whose pen, he says, 'no cantó con el instrumento del intelecto de la potencia al acto profanas majestades: celebró impulsos divinos' (p.i,11.6-8). With this example in mind, he resolves not to deal with any hero 'que no fuese ilustre en virtud, valor y religión'. The appropriate heroes are to be found, of course, in the Bible, as he indicates by his reference (p.ii.2-6) to the futility of trying to persuade other 'ingenios' to 'venerar los varones ilustres de uno y otro testamento'.

In spurning to write about the heroic deeds of knights of chivalry or figures of history on the one hand, or about mythical characters such as Apollo and Daphne or Phaeton, on the other, he is not original but is following, in the second, Tasso's precept of avoiding the pagan supernatural<sup>8</sup> and in the first, many other writers in the Siglo de Oro who represent the second mainstream of the Spanish epic, the religious epic. The author of one of the 'aprobaciones' for Luis Martí's Historia del bienaventurado padre Fray Luys Bertran (Valencia, 1584) expresses his delight at the appearance of a work on a theme other than those of 'libros profanos que tratan de cosas mundanas'; as he continues: 'me huelgo estrañamente que salgan otros que desierten y animen a servir a Dios.'<sup>9</sup> Obviously there was a feeling in some circles that a counterbalance to the profane epic should be encouraged and Martí himself, as well as Gabriel de Mata (in his preface to Cavallero Asisio, Bilbao, 1587; vol.2, Logroño, 1589), saw his principle aim as to inspire religious devotion in the reader.<sup>10</sup> One may find an echo of this in Enríquez Gómez's remark just quoted about creating respect for heroes of 'either Testament' of the Bible. Where he differs from these other writers is that he is in favour of taking biblical heroes as the subject of his poem, not saints of the Christian Church, and, despite

his inclusion of the New Testament in his argument, his preference would appear to be for Old Testament heroes or at least those from the Apocrypha. His own choice of topic bears witness to this,<sup>11</sup> as does his championing of El Macabeo in the face of the competition provided by Lope's Jerusalén conquistada, Valdivielso's San Joseph and Ercilla's Araucana, all of which he mentions. Of these, only Valdivielso's accords with the criterion of a biblical theme and yet, despite his description of it as 'divino en todo' (p.iii, l.14), it fails to take the prize as the supreme example of the Spanish epic.<sup>12</sup>

In his view of biblical themes in general Enríquez Gómez was, however, not alone: Miguel de Silveira, in his preface to El Macabeo also argues the supremacy of biblical topics and heroes. Of his own subject, the re-conquest of the Temple of Jerusalem by Judas Maccabeus, he says that it is:

accion la mas ilustre y heroica que conocemos, assi por lo misterioso, como por la excelencia, y magestad de la historia digna de ser celebrada por otros ingenios mas superiores, pues el Espiritu Santo la consagro con su pluma.

(Mac. fol.4<sup>v</sup>)

It is the most worthy of topics because it is derived from Holy Writ. As for biblical heroes, they already by virtue of their origin in a perfect source conform to the ideal type, in accordance with Aristotelian principles, and therefore do not need to be 'adjusted' to that ideal:

es tan excelente el assumpto, que siendo la fabula de los Poemas Heroicas, vna imitacion de vna accion de persona ilustre, totalmente buena(gloriosa,cumplida,possible) y de buen exemplo no como ha sucedido en particular, sino como podfa suceder con perfeccion de lo vniuersal, es esta deste insigne Varon tan excelente, y tan perfecta en todas sus circunstancias, que excede a la posibilidad de las vniuersales...

(Mac.fols 4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>)

One may compare this with Enríquez Gómez's argument regarding his choice of hero: after stating that Solomon dealt only with 'divinos impulsos', he explains:



Valíme desta doctrina para no cantar de varón que no fuese ilustre en virtud, valor y religión, pues, como se verá en el séptimo libro deste poema, el mundo tiene su vario templo de la fama y la divina escritura el suyo verdadero.

(S.N.Prólogo, p.i.9-12)

Enríquez Gómez's preference for such heroes would appear to be in part derived from the views of his model, Silveira. There is a difference, however, between the two poets: Silveira is concerned to relate his choice of subject to the long-established principles of the epic. While asserting the intrinsic merit of his topic, he nonetheless seeks to present it as conforming to these principles or 'rules'. Enríquez Gómez, on the other hand, while stressing elsewhere obedience to the rules (in his praise of Silveira's poem), in this context makes the bold and confident assertion of the superiority of biblical themes, without feeling the need to argue his case in the same manner as his model. It may be ignorance which leads him to do this - he certainly seems to be less well-informed regarding Aristotelian ideas than Silveira - alternatively, it may well be his sense of his Jewish identity of which the adherence to Old Testament themes is an expression. (see Chapter Four, pp.139-46) which gives him the confidence not to take such ideas into account.

b) 'la fábula': Enríquez Gómez's view of 'la fábula', the invented or marvellous element in the epic, is closely related to his views on the use of biblical themes, in that he contrasts the latter with the subjects other poets choose drawn from pagan mythology. He concedes, however, the following: '[que] la fábula es la parte principal de un poema heroico' i.e. that such profane elements are essential in the epic. But he goes on to stress that 'ésta [la fábula] debe de servir de adorno a la verdad': its place is only in the poeticization of the historical 'truth' which the poet takes as the source of his work (in this case the Bible) and is not of interest for its own sake. The term also includes (cf. Silveira, quoted below, p.273, on 'la fábula' and 'Episodios verisimiles') the excursions which had become a traditional feature of the epic, following Tasso's

precept concerning the integration of material from the Italian romanzo into the historical epic.<sup>13</sup> For Enríquez Gómez, however, the principal aim of the poet is to reproduce the historical truth of his source and to use all extraneous elements - classical mythology, digressions etc. - subordinated to that end, in order to make the poem agreeable and entertaining.

In this, Enríquez Gómez reflects the contemporary discussion concerning the comparative claims of historicity and entertaining digression (both advocated by Tasso). This led Sempere for example, in his preface to La Carolea (1560), to assert that he relates the events of his poem 'con la verdad de la historia, aunque se hazen algunos disgressos, que convienen al ornato della',<sup>14</sup> a view which on the face of it is not unlike Enríquez's. The difference is that in practice, Sempere's poem is mainly fantasy, whereas Enríquez Gómez manages, as we saw in Chapter Five (pp.181-2), to confine his excursions within strict limits. In Book VI, for example, he invents a battle which however illustrates Samson's prowess as a warrior and rôle as champion of Israel; Book VII's vision of the 'varones de Israel' has a thematic validity, both religious and national; and so on. Moreover, Enríquez Gómez confines his invention of characters (and the actions they take part in) largely to the pagan side of the epic confrontation, as in the case of the kind Balonte and the magician Fitón in Book IX and X, thus avoiding conflict with Biblical truth. By contrast, Silveira's adventures of Eleazaro (Juda's champion) with Dorida and the love affair of Ariclea and Rodocheo (a warrior on the Maccabean side), not to mention Rosmira, as the daughter of Eleazaro, are pure invention. Enríquez Gómez would seem, both in theory and in practice to come down on the side of 'history' rather than invention, although for him history means the Bible (cf. Hojeda with reference to his Cristiada of 1611).



Comparison with Silveira's view on this issue is once more enlightening. He also tries to balance the two sides, arguing:

...las diuinas letras la [la fábula] dispusieron con tanta perfección, que nada se le puede añadir... Más como vn Poema Heroico no se puede construir sin Episodios verisimiles, y necesarios, para ornamento, y proporcion de su conueniente grandeza, fue forçoso, que de la misma accion los deduxese, con la castidad, y moderacion, que pedía la materia sin alterar la sustancia de la historia...  
(Mac.fol.5<sup>r</sup>)

As E.Glaser comments: 'This passage gives the essentials of Silveira's theoretics: maximum respect for historical truth and faithful observance of the canons of epic poetry'.<sup>15</sup> In the event, it is the first of these which is discarded in the inevitable clash of interests which ensues and here, despite Enríquez's praise for him for having introduced 'la fábula maravillosamente', one can discern a slight divergence of view between the two poets. For Silveira invención is an element which he willingly seeks to bring into his work, even though there is the inhibition of the perfect nature of biblical narrative, with its own element of fábula; whereas for Enríquez Gómez it is a necessary evil which may detract from that perfection and must therefore not be allowed to get out of hand. This is implicit in his comment: 'Confieso que es ingenio escribir con acierto lo fabuloso, pero es mal empleado.' (p.ii 1-2). There is no virtue in invention for its own sake, only as 'adornment' which may enhance the presentation of biblical heroes for the edification of all.

c) The Rules: In his praise of Silveira's poem, Enríquez Gómez sets much store by the rules of the epic genre. While lauding the efforts of other poets, he says:

Lo que digo es que, siendo las otavas la composición más perfecta, más noble y grave, no conciste la pefección del poema en escribirle bien, aunque sea eso una de la mayores partes, sino en el acierto de las reglas que se han de seguir.'

(S.N.Pról.,p.iii.16-20)

At first sight this opinion may seem surprising, not least for its apparent rejection of good writing in favour of subservience to theory, but also

because of a general preference in the period for the following of practical example (especially that of Tasso) and the avoidance of theoretical and technical discussion. According to F. Pierce:

Mientras los italianos, desde Trissino a Tasso..., discutían sobre variados problemas épicos y argumentaban de lo lindo acerca de cuestiones como el epos, el romanzo, historia y poesía, metro, construcción, verosimilitud, y fantasía, etc., los españoles (salvo los pocos que, como Cascales y López Pinciano, se hacen eco de estas argumentaciones) no compartían, en general, esa intensa preocupación crítica ni solían interesarse por la forma artística.

(op.cit., p.232)

Enríquez's interest in 'las reglas que se han de seguir' would thus appear to be unusual.

However, one must firstly qualify the impression conveyed by the above that there was little or no debate on such matters, for, as J. de Entrambasaguas has shown in his study 'Una guerra literaria del Siglo de Oro',<sup>16</sup> there was indeed much argument at the beginning of the seventeenth century between Lope de Vega and his preceptista adversaries. Nonetheless, it would appear to have been the case that the most important and successful writers of the period in Spain derived their knowledge of classical poetics through the filter of the Italian Renaissance and were not concerned to have recourse to the original sources as the theorists did and would have them do. Enríquez Gómez would have been aware of the assaults being made upon his mentor (for example, by Torres Rámila in Spongia, 1617, and Mártir Rizo in the preface to his translation of Aristotle's Poetics, 1623), and no doubt his interest in 'rules' reflects the debate.

Secondly, if one examines the 'rules' which Enríquez Gómez discusses, one finds that they are not based on well-documented theory, but reflect the general views of his contemporaries in literature, that is to say they are drawn from Tasso and only indirectly from Aristotle and Horace. He does not state explicitly what the rules are to which he is referring but some idea of what he has in mind can be deduced from the list he makes subsequently



of the virtues of Silveira's poem:

Cantó este prodigioso ingenio la acción de un varón heroico en veinte libros, sin que desmayase la pluma desde la primera otava hasta la postrera. Introduce la fábula maravillosamente, los episodios son graves, los versos limpios, profundos y llenos de infinitas ciencias, y sin alterar la historia cumple con todos los preceptos, reglas y números que debe tener un poema heroico.

(S.N.Pról.pp.iii.22-iv 16)

To take each in turn:

- 1) Verse-form: That the use of the 'octava real' is a 'rule' can be seen from the quotation given at the beginning of section c) (p.273-above) which refers to that metre as 'la composición más perfecta, más noble y grave', that is to say that the appropriate metre for an epic is that used by Tasso in his Gerusalemme liberata and by all subsequent writers of epics with only few notable exceptions (e.g. Lope de Vega's Isidro, 1599).
- 2) Hero: ('la acción de un varón heroico en veinte libros etc.') .. the idea that an epic poem should be concerned with the actions of a single hero derives from Aristotle but was widely accepted- one is reminded of the criticism levelled at Lope de Vega for having not one but three heroes in his Jerusalén conquistada. That the action should be sustained and at length (with a variety of episodes) is also recommended by Aristotle but the precise number of cantos arises from the example of Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata which had twenty cantos. (One notes that Enríquez disregards this 'rule' in his own epic, which has only fourteen cantos.)
- 3) The marvellous ('Introduce la fábula maravillosamente') Enríquez's views have already been discussed in detail (see section b. above); to judge from his own principles and practice, the poet would seem to be praising Silveira for the naturalness and unobtrusiveness of his invention and excursions (though a study of El Macabeo hardly bears this out). He may also have in mind the principle of verisimilitude which both Tasso and Aristotle regarded as important and which Silveira himself assumes to be a requirement for digressionary episodes ('vn Poema Heroico no se puede construir sin Episodios Verisimiles.') To quote Tasso: 'the best poetry imitates the things that are, that were, and that can be...or as Aristotle held, all of these together... furnish matter fit for poetry according to this requirement of verisimilitude' (Gilbert, p.474-5)

4) Gravity: ('los episodios son graves') Horace stipulates that the subject matter of the epic should be 'deeds of kings and captains and the sorrows of war' (Gilbert, p.130.7) but this is more likely to be a reflection of the general classical view which linked the epic genre with tragedy and which Tasso expresses thus: 'the heroic style is not remote from the gravity of the tragic style' (Gilbert, p.501.33)

5) Clarity: ('los versos limpios') Aristotle was of the opinion that: 'the virtue of style must be that it is clear and not pedestrian' (Gilbert, p.101. XXII) and nearer in date to Enríquez Gómez, Fernando de Herrera in his commentaries on the poetry of Garcilaso (Obras de Garcilaso de la Vega con anotaciones, Seville, 1580) enunciated the principle of claridad. One notes that Enríquez's own best verse has a limpid quality and that in the contemporary argument between Góngora and his imitators (los oscuros) and their opponents (los claros), Enríquez Gómez appears to have been firmly on the side of the latter.<sup>17</sup>

6) Science: ('profundos y llenos de infinitos ciencias') Enríquez Gómez may have in mind the common 'Horatian' claim to the years of hard work engaged in in preparation for writing a work (see above, p. ), particularly as Silveira himself refers to forty years of study prior to composing his epic: 'estudios de quarenta años continuos en las Vniuersidades de Coimbra y Salamanca.' (Mac.fol.4<sup>r-v</sup>) Depth and breadth of culture are obviously highly valued by Enríquez Gómez, since it is this feature which according to his opinion, puts Silveira higher than Camoens as an epic poet ('como más docto en las ciencias'). However, there is not a little of the suggestion that he is, as a compliment to Silveira, taking him at his own estimation.

7) Obedience to rules: (sin alterar la historia cumple con todos los preceptos etc.') Silveira makes the claim in his own preface, quoted above (p.222), to have maintained fidelity with his source, while at the same time obeying one requirement of the epic genre, that of entertaining digressions. To this extent, Enríquez's comment would appear to be another case of him accepting Silveira's claims at face value (as in 6. above). At the same time, it corresponds to a personal view in that he talks of adherence to rules in



general, rather than one amongst them. It is possible that he has yet other rules in mind here, but since those already mentioned cover most of the ground as regards form, style and structure as discussed by earlier critics and practitioners, this seems unlikely- unless it be that he is elevating the common element which unites his and Silveira's poem, the Old Testament theme, to the level of a new rule.

One may summarize Enríquez Gómez's view of rules by saying that he appears on the whole to have no other ideas beyond the theories and practice of Tasso and reminiscences from the classical commentators, derived through others, particularly Silveira, whose defence of his own poem exhibits a more direct knowledge of them (especially Aristotle's concept of 'ideal types') than does Enríquez Gómez's. Enríquez Gómez's remarks are of the briefest and do not demonstrate a lengthy study of the critical theory of the past, nor do they amount to the establishment of novel ideas of the poet's own (with the possible exception of the requirement of a biblical theme). The fact that he twice in the course of his Preface refers to rules and places them apparently above practical models might be counted somewhat unusual - perhaps reflecting the arguments abounding in his French cultural environment- but this may be no more than bowing in the direction of the preceptistas, while (as we shall see) practical examples have their importance for him.

d) Art and Nature: Enríquez Gómez expresses the opinion (p.ix) that all works of literature, whatever the skill of the writer ('aunque no sea totalmente poeta quien lo compuso'), merit applause for the reason that *venció con la agudeza del arte lo bronco de la naturaleza*. Art, therefore, is the triumph of the wit of man over Nature, the usual classical view and reminiscent of Gracián's concept of agudeza (as expressed in his Agudeza y arte de ingenio, Huesca, 1648), if only in the use of the same term. There is, however, an element of special pleading in the context of the remark, the profession of tolerance for all literary production in the hope that others will show tolerance of his poem.. Nonetheless, it is clear that

craftmanship and the refashioning of material in accordance with pre-determined criteria are important to him, as can be seen from his stress on epic rules. Hence, too, the emphasis on 'ciencia', the quality of learning which makes him prefer Silveira's epic to Camoens' and the quality which he feels himself to lack through not having had a formal education. In a remark which goes somewhat in contradiction of his other comments, he claims, on the other hand, that the lack has been made up not only by youthful study (no trabajé poco en mi juventud sobre las noticias más importantes de las ciencias'), but by 'nature' itself, as he says: 'y en el natural no debo poco a la naturaleza'. But since he then goes on to demonstrate the profusion of disciplines at his finger-tips as exemplified in the range of his poetic and prose works (which he lists, p.viii), this must be seen as false modesty, indeed the attempt to assert the high cultural level in his work (while conveniently seeking to excuse the lacunae), that is to say the extent to which he has managed to let Art triumph over Nature. Art and knowledge remain the essential elements of literature and the criteria by which it is to be judged.

In his poetic theories, as expressed in the Prólogo to Sansón Nazareno, Antonio Enríquez Gómez provides a useful mirror of the ideas of his age, with some interesting, if limited, variations of his own. In his choice of themes from the Bible as the supreme epic subject matter he follows one general trend among contemporary Spanish poets but displays an independence in his bias towards the Old Testament, shared only by a handful of mainly New Christian writers (see Chapter Four, p.140). As regards la fábula, whether classical invention or digressions, he is in agreement with all those who proclaim to follow Tasso's example of welding 'history' and romanzo, but seeks genuinely to limit the latter as far as is possible. More concerned than most with rules, he turns out to have no new ideas (save that possibly of the Old Testament theme) to put forward. Lastly, on the function of literature, he takes the conventional classical view that Art is superior to Nature.



Of these, the biblical theme is the most important, together with the second, related principle of subordination of other elements to the expression of that theme. In his practice, he obviously adheres to the first by his choice of the Samson story for his epic and, it has been argued, he has some success in keeping to the second. Of the other 'rules' or points of favorable criticism with reference to Silveira's poem, he does not belie his own theories, since his poem deals with a single hero in a sustained action, with a variety of incident and with imagination (e.g. the vision of Book VII); there is relief in the form of the pastoral 'love passages but nothing which detracts from the 'gravity' of the epic style; some of his verse is complicated and culto but the best has a 'clarity', particularly once the reader has become used to his repeated, favorite basic images (see Notes to Texts, B, p.711 ff.) his poem is not overburdened with displays of classical learning, the only examples being stereotype associations, such as Apollo for the sun, Ceres for corn etc., but the knowledge of the Old Testament which is shown is, on the contrary, extensive. With all this, he can claim with some justice to have, 'sin alterar la historia', adhered to 'todos los preceptos', reglas y números que debe tener un poema heroico' (save for an unusual number of cantos which is without significance).<sup>18</sup>

#### B. Practical examples.

Since it has already been seen in the general introduction to this chapter and, implicitly, in the previous discussion that the Spanish writers of epics in the Golden Age set much store by example, in preference to precept to which often only lip-service was paid, it is appropriate now to consider Enríquez Gómez's Sanson Nazareno in relation to two practical examples of the genre which he evidently followed: the 'new classic', Gerusalemme liberata by Torquato Tasso and El Macabeo by Miguel de Silveira.

i) Tasso and 'Gerusalemme liberata'

Al aparecer la *Gerusalemme liberata* [1575], la epopeya española empieza a tomarla por modelo..., con lo que este poema se convirtió en clásico tan imitable, adquiriendo así una de su características más peculiares.

Thus speaks F. Pierce (op.cit., p.261) of the influence of Tasso's epic and its emergence as the 'new classic', the model not only for historical poems the succession of 'liberations' such as Cristóbal de Mesa's Las Navas de Tolosa (1594) and Lope de Vega's Jerusalén conquistada (1609), but also for works on religious themes, such as Diego de Hojeda's La Cristiada (1611) and, as we shall see, Sansón Nazareno.<sup>19</sup>

Antonio Enríquez Gómez knew of Tasso's poem indirectly through the features of it which occur in the epics of others, in particular Silveira's El Macabeo. However, there is potential evidence that he knew it directly in the play, apparently by him, which recreates the matter of Tasso's poem and bears the same title or its Spanish equivalent, Jerusalén libertada. While a full literary appraisal of this play lies outside the scope of this thesis, it can be noted in connection with the present argument that it is by and large faithful to Tasso's poem, its Christian purpose, characterization and details of plot, making allowance for the following: the tightening up of the plot by eliminating 'superfluous' characters, i.e. those which are not deemed necessary to the basic amatory and chivalresque plot, such as Erminia, Peter the Hermit, and Idraote (merged with Ismeno); some rearranging of the action, for example, emphasising the earlier encounter of Tancredi and Clorinda, prior to the beginning of the action and the adjusting of Armida's story to make her the victim of usurpation of her throne; and the directing of the romantic intrigue in order to bring about a 'happy ending', with Tancredi marrying Armida and Rinaldo Clorinda. In general, the end product reflects an extended knowledge of the original in all its aspects on the part of the author.

The authorship of the play, however, is far from certain, since the only



available edition appears to be an eighteenth century suelta, whose attribution of authorship is not necessarily reliable. Most importantly, Enríquez Gómez himself does not refer to it in his list of plays in the Prólogo to Sansón Nazareno.<sup>20</sup> Sylvia Wynter's suggestion that the otherwise untraceable El rayo de Palestina is this play under another title<sup>21</sup> seems improbable since one would imagine that one of the principal reasons for producing such a play-in effect Tasso's poem adapted for the stage - would be in order to profit by the association with the model; a change of title would nullify this. Besides, to whom would 'el rayo' refer? Gofredo, Tasso's principal hero (from a symbolic point of view if not as the one at the forefront of most of the action), hardly features at all, while Tancredi and Rinaldo's counterparts are given equal emphasis. The title of Enríquez Gómez's play suggests rather one concerned with an Old Testament hero, such as David or Gideon (Joshua was promised for a projected 'poema heroico', see S.N.Pról., p.viii)

On the other hand, even if such a direct link between Enríquez and Tasso cannot be demonstrated conclusively in this way, there is every reason to suppose that he read the Italian epic, at least in translation, in view of the immense popularity it enjoyed, Enríquez's own involvement in literary circles where it was undoubtedly discussed - intellectual curiosity alone would have led him to read it- and not least some possible evidence in his poem of direct influence, in addition to such elements of plot etc. which could be accounted for by the influence of Silveira and other Spanish poets.

#### Direct influence from Tasso:

By the time Enríquez Gómez wrote his Sansón, some features of Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata had become traditional, so that no epic was felt to be complete without a descent into hell, seers and magicians, romantic interludes, in a pastoral setting, sieges and set-piece battles etc., all of which

are to be found in Enríquez Gómez's poem. This being so, it is difficult to discern where the influence of Tasso is direct and where it is indirect. However, in the following cases one is tempted to suggest that it is direct.

a) Women: Enríquez's view of women as by nature unfaithful, deceiving and always enticing to sin (e.g. S.N.III.44: '¡O dulce, o frágil, singular sujeto,/ Emulo del discurso y la cordura!') coincides with Tasso's to some degree. The latter refers to Armida as instructed in 'ogni arte femminil' (IV.25)<sup>22</sup> in which all three women Samson encounters, but especially Dalida, seem well versed. In particular, the portrayal of Armida's attempt to secure Rinaldo's love and prevent his leaving her enchanted isle by alternate scorn and enticement is paralleled by Dalida's use of the same weapon's to extract Samson's secret from him:

Teneri sdegni, e placide e tranquille  
Repulse, e cari vezzi, e lieti paci,  
Sonrise parolette, e dolci stille  
Di pianto, e sospir tronchi, e molli baci.  
(Ger.lib.XVI.25.i-iv)

Compare:

Fingiend melancólicas ternezas,  
Hace semblante que otro nuevo nido...  
Fue cause de el haberle detenido;  
Jura el Adonis, dobla sutilezas  
La dama, con semblante condolido,  
Amagando con lágrima sedienta  
En mar tranquilo líbica tormenta. (S.N.XII.17)  
Lucen entre la rosa los abrojos  
Y entre la boca de coral y nieve  
La concha, donde amor concibió ciego  
Perlas sin luz, aljófares de fuego. (XII.18.v-viii)  
Ausentóse la ninfa, cuando estaba,  
Si no más vivo amor, más encendido;  
Detiénela Sansón, porque imagina  
Que es fineza de amor lo que es ruina.  
(XII.19,v-viii)

(Dalida employs much the same tactics of approach and withdrawal with ultimate success later on, in Book XIII). As one can see, tears are a principal weapon of the temptress; so too Armida summons them up in her last bid to hold Rinaldo (Ger.lib.XVI.39) and her admonishment of him for ingratitude finds its echo in Dalida's arguments against Samson, both



immediately after her discovery of his having given her a false 'secret' (XII.56-7) and later after this has happened a third time (S.N.XIII.5-16) At the same time, Enríquez Gómez is a competent enough 'psychologist' to have arrived at such a picture of feminine wiles on his own and it is his experience as a dramatist which makes him develop fully the interaction between hero and heroine. Moreover, his sceptical view of women is well established from his earlier writings.

On the other hand, one is perhaps justified in seeing a link between the two poets approach in view of the context in which the descriptions just discussed occur. This is the mobilisation of women as warriors against Samson in the one case and the plan of Satan in the other (Ger.lib.IV.17) to lure some of the Christian warriors away from their mission with women. Satan's intention that they should be 'in cure d'amor lascive immerso, /idol si faccia un dolce sguardo e un riso' is echoed by Fitón's decision: '...cese la guerra, /Armese la belleza felestina /Contra Sansón, prodigio de la tierra' (S.N.X.33.iii-iv) As an immediate consequence of Satan's words, Armida appears on the scene as the agent of her uncle, the magician Idraote, while Samson ventures into Gaza to be lured by the prostitute there. It is the element of a) a plan of campaign on the pagan side, somewhat in desperation and b) the delegation of women to carry it out which unites Tasso and Enríquez Gómez on this point and differentiates them both from, in the first case the incidental sidetracking of Lope de Vega's Alonso by his love for Raquel (Jerusalén Conquistada, Libro XVIII) and, in the second, Silveira's Dorida, who herself plots against and pursues Eleazaro. Enríquez Gómez would appear to have had recourse to Tasso's device of dramatic structure, which in Tasso's poem allows for amatory and fantastic escapades and in Enríquez Gómez's provides an explanation for the switch in the biblical narrative from battles to love-affairs. Incidentally, it also allows Enríquez to fulfil the 'requirement' of providing female warriors (cf. Clorinda), without having to invent non-biblical characters, in contradiction of the principle of biblical fidelity.

There is another instance where the approaches of the two poets coincide: this is in the parallel descriptions of the woman Rinaldo finds bathing in a stream (Ger.lib.XIV.57) and of Dalida washing in a pool surrounded by her 'nymphs' (S.N.XI.6.ff.). The situation in each case is the same, with the hero coming across the scene he beholds unexpectedly and being immediately aroused to passion; the consequences are the same in that he is deflected by the encounter from the pursuance of his duty as a soldier - Rinaldo is taken off in a swoon to Armida's magic isle ('isole Felici') and Samson becomes embroiled with Dalida to his destruction. In the actual descriptions of the women there is a degree of eroticism and of revelation illicitly gained common to each, which together with the parallel in over-all situation suggests that Enríquez Gómez has imitated Tasso at this point:

E quinci alquanto d'un crin biondo uscio,  
E quinci di donzella un volto sorse,  
E quinci il petto, e le mammelle, e de la  
Sua forma insin dove vergogna cela.

(Ger.lib.XIV.60 v-viii)

cf.

Al abrochar el golfo dividido,  
La vista penetró con sus pinceles  
En los pechos, cercados de alelfes,  
Botones dos, con picos carmesíes.

(S.N.XI.13.v-viii)

'Dove vergogna cela' and 'con sus pinceles' both suggest that imagination has to play its part, encouraged by what has already been revealed. The purpose of the description is the same in each case: to demonstrate that both Samson and Rinaldo have been lured by purely physical and sensual enticement, without pretence that any higher notion of beauty may be involved.

b) The Enchantress's Palace: The description of Dalida's house (S.N.XI.38ff.) is clearly intended to be Enríquez Gómez's equivalent of that of Armida's palace on the enchanted Island (Ger.lib.XVI) or that of Dorida's palace in El Macabeo (XIV.62-120). In comparing the three versions it is apparent that Silveira's is far closer to Tasso's than Enríquez's, in several respects. Firstly, Silveira has invented the episode of Eleazaro's visit to Dorida's palace (and the descent into hell which precedes



it) as his equivalent of the adventures which keep Rinaldo from his duty. It is not in the Bible, while Enríquez's passage is a natural element in the circumstances of Samson and Dalida's encounter which he extends from the biblical source. Dorida's palace, secondly, is the creation of her magical powers, as is Armida's, while Dalida's is in that sense 'real'. Thirdly, and connected with the preceding point, Silveira, unlike Enríquez imitates several aspects of Tasso's description, such as the seasons all being turned to one in the garden (Ger.lib.XVI.11 cf. Mac.XIV.65). Lastly, the mythical scenes depicted in life-like sculpture in El Macabeo are an elaboration of the same idea in Tasso and serve the same allegorical function of showing the delights of love. In this last, Enríquez's version is generally in line with the others, except that within the house he describes there are not statues in the main but 'bellos retratos',<sup>23</sup> portraits of the gods in a gallery and a tapestry depicting the fall of Phaeton in the bedroom (obviously symbolic of Samson's fall in view of the frequent Samson/sun/Apollo analogies).

Taking all these points together, it would seem that Enríquez Gómez is far less slavish in his following Tasso than Silveira and that on the whole his connection with him is less direct. However, one may discern some evidence that, on the contrary, he has returned directly to the common model. Firstly, like Tasso, he integrates the equivalent of the statues, the portraits and pictures, into the description of the house as a whole, concentrating the attention on the symbolic sense of the sequence whereas Silveira somewhat dissipates the effect by his further elaborations, the drama of the love of Silvano and Elisa which is enacted to illustrate the moral of the shortness of life and the subsequent panorama of the history of Portugal and the ancestors of Silveira's patron Don Ramírez Felípez de Guzmán. In other words, Enríquez Gómez has pursued the purpose of Tasso's passage, rather than imitation and elaboration of some of the elements to be found there.<sup>24</sup>

Secondly, the whole sequence concerned with Dalida's house may owe something to another passage in Tasso's poem, the scene where the knights who have been lured in pursuit of Armida enter her castle in the Dead Sea and come upon a meal which has been laid out for them. Similarly, Samson and Dalida pass through her house to the garden where a feast awaits them. However, more suggestive of a direct link is the fact that in each case the meal is a magical enticement to love and the neglect of war, literally so in Tasso's poem since the knights fall victim to a spell by eating, metaphorically in Enríquez's, where the meal is one more element flattering his senses. Further, there is a contrived opulence in each description to underline the idea of allurements: The table the knights encounter is:

Ricca di vivande elette e care.  
Era qui ciò ch'ogni stagion dispensa,  
Ciò che dona la terra, o manda il mare,  
Ciò che l'arte condisce: e cento belle  
Servivano al convito accorte ancelle.

(Ger.lib.X.64.v-viii)

cf.

Espléndida la mesa les espera  
En un jardín, murado de alelíes,  
...  
Viose poblada la redonda esfera  
De las aves con picos carmesíes,  
Sin que faltase la que nace sabia  
En las aromas del fragante Arabia.

Sirven la tabla ninfas que lucían  
Al sol de su planeta en velo humano  
Estrellas que cruzaban y corrían  
Por el jardín del cielo soberano.

(S.N.XII.43-4.v)

Tasso's phrase 'ciò ch'ogni stagion dispensa' finds its echo in Enríquez's reference to the presence on the table of all the fowl there are, including the Phoenix ('la que nace sabia...'); this also provides the element of magical contrivance which is in Tasso's description. The 'ninfas' who serve Dalida's table are reminiscent of the 'cento belle' that serve Tasso's knights. Admittedly, however, the image of the Phoenix is somewhat of a cliché with Enríquez Gómez, one which springs naturally to mind for a superlative, and the idea of serving maidens does not require Tasso as a



source in any way. Nonetheless, there is perhaps a reminiscence of Tasso in their use here to create an atmosphere of luxury and delight, as well as in the function of the meal as has been explained, which suggests that he has had Tasso's passage in mind, however vaguely. At least it is not obviously the case, as in some others (for example, item 8, below, pp. 309-10, the vision of Book VII), that Silveira has been the intermediary. If this is an example of the direct influence of the Italian poet, then it would reinforce the suggestion that other parts of the sequence - Dalida's house - may also derive directly from Tasso, in a way which is not obvious at first sight and which Silveira's more imitative approach obscures.

c) Language: Most of the examples of language which is common to both Tasso and Enríquez Gómez can be found in the writings of other Spanish poets and a direct link can be discounted: one thinks of the use of words such as 'Flegetonte', 'tátareo', etc. or the generalisation of national adjectives on the lines of 'franco' for 'Christian' rather than just 'French' (cf. 'macabeo' and 'nazareno' for 'Jewish' by Silveira and Enríquez, respectively). However, there are perhaps two examples of connection between Enríquez and Tasso. Firstly, the Spanish poet does seem particularly fond of the construction of comparison 'No suele...como...' which parallels a very similar one in Tasso's poem, for example:

No suele tempestad, cuando deciende  
De la región, llevarse de camino  
Montes, valles, pensiles, eliseos  
Como Sansón llevaba filisteos

(S.N.VIII.47.v-viii)

Compare :

Non è sì grato ai caldi giorno il tuono

...  
Come fu caro alle feroci genti  
l'Altero suon de' bellici istrumenti.

(Ger.lib.I.71v-viii)

Of course, others such as Lope de Vega use the same or similar construction which Enríquez employs, for example: 'No se muestra jamás tan encendida/... la rosa castellana.../ Como de Ismenia se mostró vestida / De carmesí preciosa grana.' (Jer.Cong.XIII)<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, it is perhaps not too

much to suggest that the popularity with Enríquez of this oblique form of superlative expression owes something to the frequency of its use by Tasso.

A second case may be in the name used by Enríquez Gómez for his pagan characters. Although he shows considerable flair for invention of his own, some of them resemble closely those found in Gerusalemme liberata: Eronte (S.N.X.54) cf. Arontes (Ger.lib.IV.56), Tigaronte (S.N.IX.40) cf. Tigrane (Ger.lib.XVII.28), Difonte (S.N.VI.43) cf. Sifonte (Ger.lib.XVII.28).

However, this last example, with its 'Greek' ending, is a reminder of the influence of Silveira in this area, for the latter is especially fond of using them in the invention of names for his characters (see discussion below, p.316), so that it may well be that the correlations between Enríquez and Tasso here are merely fortuitous.

#### Influence from the Tasso tradition:

Turning now to where the influence of Tasso on Enríquez Gómez's poem is discernible but cannot necessarily be accounted direct, it is appropriate to enlarge on those features which had come to be regarded as essential to the Golden Age epic. Some of these go back beyond Tasso, such as the parallistic portrayal of the opposing forces (true/false religion, similar institutions of priesthood etc.), dreams, consultations with oracles and so on, while Tasso's manner of introducing his poem with a statement of the topic, evocation of the muse and reference to the person to whom the poem is dedicated, derives from Ariosto (Orlando furioso). But to deal here only with those features refashioned by Tasso or which in some way are identifiable as having been adapted or simply brought into prominence by him, the following can be discerned in Antonio Enríquez Gómez's Sansón Nazareno: 1) dawn/sunset descriptions at the beginning/end of actions (S.N.III.1.VII.1 cf. Ger.lib.1.35,II.96-7); 2) set-piece battles, preceded by a march-past of soldiers and involving some degree of general strategy together with individual encounters (S.N.IX.37 ff.cf. Ger.lib.XVIII.54. ff.); 3) a siege or assault on



a city (S.N.VI.30 ff.cf.Ger.lib. XX et passim); 4) a descent into hell and identification of hell with the pagan cause (S.N.IX. 1-27 cf. Ger.lib.IV.1-18); 5) the intervention of heaven or hell in the affairs of men (S.N.VI.43-53 cf. Ger.lib.VII.115; S.N. VIII.64 cf. Ger.lib.VII.87); 6) a seer or magician who guides the pagans through the use of astrology etc. (Fitón cf. Idraote and Ismeno); 7) prognostication using a mirror or similar device (S.N. 12 cf. shield in Ger.lib.XVI.64); 8) a vision of the future vouchsafed the hero in a dream, revealing also the reward of the just in heaven (S.N.VII. passim cf. Ger.lib.XVIII.92-4); 9) love encounters in pastoral setting Samson and Dalestina, S.N.1.36 cf. Tancredi and Clorinda, Ger.lib.I.45) 10) the palace of the enchantress (S.N.XI.38-47 cf.Ger.lib.XVI.1-24)

In examining these points in detail, comparison must also be made with the practice of Silveira in El Macabeo, since in this poem Enríquez Gómez had a ready-made example of close use of Tasso's poem as a model, one which was familiar to him, indeed the model he himself proposed for his own epic. Silveira's poem provides an important means of gauging and assessing Enríquez's approach to the common model, as well as highlighting the individual characteristics of that approach.

The point can be made from the outset that Enríquez's approach is markedly less slavish than that of Silveira. This can be demonstrated in a general way by the fact that, not only do all the elements listed above find their equivalent in Silveira's poem, but there are as many more again which he includes, while Enríquez Gómez does not. These are: 1) the election of an equal number of champions on each side to do battle on behalf of their respective armies; 2) the challenge of the principal champion on the pagan side to his counterpart, the fulfilment of which is long-delayed by the adventures of the latter; 3) the adventures of the champion in strange places, magic islands etc., which diverts him from his duty;<sup>26</sup> 4) narrations by characters of events which have taken place 'off-stage' or in the past; 5) the giving to the champion of a sword which belonged to a dead hero

(Mac.1.cf.Ger.lib.VIII); 6) the slaying by one hero of his loved one by misadventure, due to her presence on the battlefield in armour, culminating on her death-bed conversion to the true faith (Mac.XII.cf.Ger.lib.XII); 7) the invention of other characters in imitation of Tasso, such as the renegade on the pagan side (Alcino cf. Vafrino)<sup>27</sup>; 8) the parade of ancestors of the person to whom the poem is dedicated (Mac.XV.cf.Ger.lib.X); 9) a funeral for a dead hero (Mac.XVI.cf.Ger.lib.III). These are only the major borrowings, lesser instances of imitated detail can be found in almost every incident related (for example, Dorida's descent in a cloud, Mac.III, cf. the cloud which makes Soliman invisible, Ger.lib.X). Of the total of nineteen features mentioned above all then are to be found in El Macabeo, while only half of them occur in Sansón Nazareno.

Moreover, while such a preponderance of borrowing in any case must distort the biblical narrative, Silveira is prepared actively to bend that narrative to fit the Italian model. An example of this is seen at the end of El Macabeo where there is a final battle with Nicanor (XIX-XX.76) and an assault on Jerusalem (XX.80 ff.) which leads in this version to the triumphal rededication of the Temple. However, this last event takes place in the Book of Maccabees towards the beginning of the Judean struggle against the Antiochus (IMaccabees 4.37-59) and not as a result of the defeat of Nicanor's armies, while this battle itself in the biblical account is a defence of the city and the Temple (II Maccabees.17 ff.) rather than an assault upon it. Obviously, Silveira considered it more important to reproduce the battle before Jerusalem and the fall of that city which crowns the Gerusalemme liberata than to adhere strictly either to chronological exactitude or to the biblical text. By contrast, the fulfilment by Enríquez Gómez of this 'requirement' of a seige entails no such disruption: his seige takes place in Book VI as one of the two battles which he elaborates to illustrate the tightening of the conflict between Samson and the Philistines and the hero's rise to preeminence among the Israelites. It may intervene, arguably, in the direct unfolding of the narrative but it does not induce any



rearrangement of the events related in the biblical source. This can be stated as a principle, namely that, while as many of Tasso's ideas are to be imitated and incorporated into the poem as possible, it shall not be done at the expense of the biblical narrative. The majority of the examples now to be discussed demonstrate this in action.

1. Dawn/sunset descriptions: This is an obvious device to mark the beginning and end of an action and in both Enríquez's and Tasso's cases these descriptions tend to coincide with the beginning or end of a canto, the purpose being to emphasise the clear dramatic structure which arise from making canto and action match one another. (Silveira, on the other hand, invariably and somewhat irritatingly begins and ends narrations in mid-canto.) Enríquez, however, never allows this to become a slavish device; for example, dusk falls in the middle of Book V as Samson returns home to plot the burning of the Philistines' corn (V.20-2) and at the beginning of Book VII as a prelude to Samson's dream, rather than at the end of the preceding canto. At the same time, it is quite natural that events such as the wedding of Samson and Dalestina, his visit to her father's house to reclaim her, his first battles with the Philistines, Fitón's consultation of the magic mirror, Samson's encounter with Dalida should all demand a new canto and all commence at the beginning of the day. One observes that in none of these cases does the conclusion of the event coincide with the end of day. Enríquez, further, produces an interesting culto variation on the idea by opening Book XIII, as Dalida begins to wear down Samson and achieve her triumph, with a description of her in terms of the awakening dawn: 'Alba llorosa toda parecía / Cuando destial lágrimas al día' (XIII.2)

Moreover, it is obvious that Enríquez Gómez takes a true poet's delight in the opportunity such descriptions provide for lyrical expansion, as one can see from his passage concerned with the day breaking on the newly-weds:

Madrugada por el campo de los cielos  
 La vigilante antorcha de la aurora,  
 Y el galán de torcidos paralelos,  
 Con un rayo d luz, dos soles dora;  
 Penetra Febo los azules velos,  
 Rayando alegre en pensiles de Flora  
 De los novios el tálamo, que hacía  
 Emulación al párpado del día.

Bebe la luminaria hermosa y pura  
 Diez azucenas, cuya luz nevada  
 Parece entre los dedos la blancura,  
 Grumos de fina cera distilada;  
 Velando el joven dicha tan segura,  
 Siente que de la cuna laureada .  
 El alba salga, porque teme ciego  
 Que amor se quite la visera luego.

(S.N.III.23-4)

The whole is a delicately woven image relating Dalemstina and the emerging sun, the watching Phoebus Apollo and the lover who gazes upon his beloved and catches the tenderness and fragile quality of this moment and experience.

2. Set piece battles: There is only one what one might call 'set-piece' battle in Sansón Nazareno, the one which occurs in Book IX and assures the hero's invincibility in battle; the others are in the manner of chance skirmishes - the raiding party and the attack on the fortress which follows it in Book VI, the battle which develops after Sanson breaks his bonds (VIII.52 ff.), for example. However, even in this main battle there is little of the sense of military strategy and the realities of command, such as we find in Gerusalemme liberata, in particular in Canto XVIII. There, Goffredo is shown deploying his troops and great attention is paid to the precise details of his strategy as to who will command which battalion and what his task will be (XVIII.54 especially) The sense of reality this engenders (despite Tasso's lack of direct experience in fact) is reinforced when Goffredo has to readjust his plan on hearing of the approach of Egyptian forces to his rear (XVIII.65). Subsequently, the battle itself is described with care to show what is happening from each of the angles suggested by the plans drawn, that



is to say, turning to each flank in turn and showing Goffredo moving around to keep affairs under control (st.80), as well as to plot the changes that occur under the pressure of events. The description then turns from the general battle to individual encounters (from the beginning of Canto XIX in particular)

The form which Enríquez Gómez's battle takes in Book IX is generally simpler than that of Tasso and owes something to the relatively streamlined formula Silveira adopts for the many incidental battles he describes. This amounts to a general description of the situation of armed confrontation, the distribution of commands, a call to battle by the leaders of each side, some general warfare followed by individual encounters and a summary of the outcome of the battle as a whole (see, for example, Mac.IX.1-24). In Enríquez's case, the reason for the battle and the circumstances from which it arose have long been prepared for (by the consultation of Dagón and the cosmic signs which precede it), so that he begins the events directly with a march-past of armies in the manner of Tasso (e.g. Canto I.61 ff.), beginning with Balonte's (S.N.IX.38) and proceeding to Samson's (IX.45). In each case he concentrates on the leading warriors and their mounts rather than on the different types of soldier and weaponry on display. The passage is reminiscent of Lope's description of the sons of Saladino riding out from the city, where each rider and horse is depicted in full colour and detail (Jerusalén conquistada, XIII.ed.cit.vol.2,p.90): some of the breeds referred to are the same, for instance, 'obero' (cf.S.N.IX.48), but on the whole Enríquez prefers stereotyped designations to real types of horse - 'cisne' (IX.44 & 49), 'pegaso' (IX.47). Nonetheless, it may well be that Enríquez Gómez had Lope's passage in mind in determining the presentation of his own.

No reference is made by Enríquez Gómez to the distribution of commands, unlike in Tasso's or Silveira's poems; instead he describes directly the commanders in position, for example, Josefe 'por el costado del oriente' i.e. commanding that flank (IX.49). In doing so, he has eliminated what he must

have considered the unnecessary long-windedness involved in depicting the leader addressing each of his aides in turn (cf. Ger.lib.XVIII.54 ff.)

The speech or rallying call of each leader to his men is omitted on this occasion but is seen in Book VI, where Samson's argument that strength lies with justice and God, not in numbers alone recalls that of Goffredo (Ger.lib.II.85; cf. Judá, Mac.IV.74). Battle then commences, with a general assault of armies, followed by individual contests. Enríquez Gómez brings some order into the first of these by in successive stanzas describing the entry into play of various weapons and types of soldier: arrows (st.51), missiles (52), lances (53), catapults (53), then infantry and pikemen (54) and the main body of Samson's forces (55). A defensive movement by the Philistines (56) one of encirclement by Samson's forces (56) and a reinforced onslaught on their left flank (58) then follow. This provides a picture of the range of activities on the battlefield, together with an impression of general movements in the conflict. At the same time it does so with the greatest economy and directness, without any attempt to reproduce the wide panorama of events or the sense of complex reality apparent in Tasso's poem.

As for the individual contests of warriors, these are seen, as in the other poems, as the centre of interest, concerning as they do the heroes upon whom our attention is fixed elsewhere in the drama of events. But, again, Enríquez Gómez is brief (as he is in Book VI), describing only the principal confrontations in no more than a stanza: Samson jousting with Malaquino (60), Benjamin against Filibonte (61) and the wounding of Balonte by a hand unnamed (61). There is no interest displayed here in the details of each contest nor in depicting the various stages of the fight as in a mediaeval joust, the form taken by Tasso's equivalent scenes (e.g. Tancredi and Clorinda, Ger.lib.III.21 ff.) and imitated by Silveira (Eleazaro and Andrónico, Mac.XVI.1-32), with the combatants first on horseback then on foot and perhaps lastly in hand-to-hand struggle, every blow, movement, injury, rally being recorded. This is not to say that Enríquez makes no attempt ever to individualize his descriptions - one thinks of the example in Book VIII (58) where Samson slays Bahalino with the same spear with which the latter



has pinned him to a rock - but in general and here in particular he seems more interested in the end result, the swift despatching by the Israelite hero of his adversary. These contests over and Balonte defeated, the battle as a whole comes quickly to an end.

In this particular battle Enríquez grants more detailed attention to the structure of battle than elsewhere, since it is the climax of the military conflict of the poem and his equivalent of the final battle in the Gerusalemme; yet, even so, one observes that he seems concerned to present the various scenes with directness and economy evoking the confusion of battle and revelling in the displays of heroic valour, but concentrating with a dramatist's eye on the outcome, on the events which will advance the all-important biblical plot.

3.Siege: It has already been argued that there is some dramatic justification as well as justification in the Old Testament source (see above, p.290 and Chapter 5, p.181-3) for the excursus provided by the battles of Enríquez Gómez's sixth canto; but this is not to deny that clearly they are conceived as a response to the kind of situation found in other epic poems and, in particular, the siege with which Gerusalemme liberata ends (also Canto VI) which finds its equivalent in the second of the battles, the attack on the fortress near Timnah ('Tamá'). At the same time it can be seen that this 'siege' provides a neat balance for the first battle which consists of a raid on a temporary encampment of the Philistines in a natural setting.

As with the set-piece battle, so here there is little attempt at reproducing the sense of over-all strategy and the individual scenes of battle in conjunction with each other and in contrast with the whole plan: Tasso's broad canvass of the siege of Jerusalem, the various stages of battle from initial assault with siege engines on the outer walls to the final attack on the inner fort (the Tower of David), combined with a fierce

defensive manoeuvre against the Egyptian reinforcements. Silveira, inevitably, attempts the task of encompassing all these aspects - strategy, encounters, details of weaponry etc. - drawing the events like Tasso over two or more cantos and including a similar respite in the middle of the proceedings through the conclusion of Eleazaro's dealings with Dorida (Mac. XX.4-52) which is reminiscent of the interruption provided by the flight of Tancredi and Argantes (Ger.lib.XIX.1-34, 103-15). In Sansón Nazareno, Samson makes a frontal assault 'a escala vista' with ladders and the events are pursued through the description of attacks first by Samson (st.33), then his two phalanxes (35), of individual encounters (36 ff) and of successive advances until victory (notwithstanding the intervention of hell) is assured. Like Tasso (Ger.lib.XIX.52, where Goffredo orders an end to plunder and killing), he describes the pity of the victors for the vanquished (S.N.IX.57) but the act of retribution against the priests of Dagón would seem to be a piece of symbolism of his own devising. All three poets describe the prayers of thanksgiving offered for their success (Ger.lib.XX.144, S.N.IX.57, Mac. XX.79), though Enríquez does so with characteristic brevity (logically so as this is not the climax of his poem).

As regards the equipment employed by the participants, Enríquez Gómez treads a careful path between what is expected and what is consistent with the circumstances of his plot - his Israelites are a roving band of soldiers not a well-equipped expeditionary force. Thus, on the one hand, they have ladders at their disposal, a trifle improbably, while for the most part they use their ingenuity for instance to form a testudo by joining shields (IX.42) as in Gerusalemme liberata, XI.33, and to make a pyramid of their bodies to enable Samson to ascend the walls (33). At the same time there is no description of the defenders using boiling pitch or even stones (cf. Ger.lib.XI.26) to hurl down upon the attackers (instead their massed weaponry is only likened to such devices, their 'acelerados rayos' being described as 'globos unidos', st.35). If Enríquez Gómez omits such references, it cannot be on grounds of improbability, for there is nothing



improbable about them, nor on grounds of avoiding anachronism, since Samson is too much a knight-at-arms for that and the whole vision of warfare is mediaeval (or possibly seventeenth century) rather than biblical. It would appear to be that the poet has consciously declined to include the whole panoply of details to be drawn from Tasso, unlike his contemporary Silveira, eschewing what he personally knows little of and preferring to concentrate on the thematic importance of this battle between true and false religion (underlined by the treatment of the priests of Dagón) and of the rôle of the canto as a whole in the development of the drama and the character of Samson. In this way he can oblige by including a siege of sorts, and even put it to good use, but not at the expense of the advancement of the epic plot.

4. Descent to hell: In Canto IV of Gerusalemme liberata, Tasso describes a council of devils convened in Hell to hear Satan's plan of action against the Christian forces, whose successes have aroused his ire. The passage is not his own invention but derives from Claudian and Virgil; nonetheless, it was Tasso's version which became the model for such as Suárez de Figueroa in España defendida (1612), Canto III, or Cristóbal de Mesa's Canto IV of La Restuaración de España (1607). Not surprisingly, in El Macabeo (III) we find another recreation of Tasso's scene, with Satan this time becoming Pluto, perhaps in deference to chronological requirement, a Greek deity better suiting a story set in the era of Antiochus. Enríquez Gómez's equivalent scene (Book IX.1.1-27) shows some originality to the extent that, firstly, he has declined to imitate the idea of an infernal council, but replaces it with a consultation of the king and his seer before their god in the manner of a Greek oracle. The idea of a plan of campaign emerging from the discussion is removed to the next canto (X), where Fitón and Balonte go to Mount Gilboa and plot the exploitation of 'beauties' with the help of the magic mirror, while here all that is sought and achieved is a prognostication concerning the coming decisive battle with Samson. On the other hand, as in Tasso's poem, this is a moment of re-assessment and

mulling over their fortunes on the part of the pagans and Fitón's complaints regarding Samson's successes against them (IX.12-17) recall those of Satan (Ger.lib.IV.18 cf. Mac.III.28) against heaven and its protégés.

Secondly, and in keeping with the notion of consulting an oracle, Enríquez Gómez combines the idea of a hellish cavern with that of a sacrifice offered by the pagans to their god prior to crucial events. This may be a commonplace but would seem to have a connection with the situation in El Macabeo, XVII.1-18, where Antioco comes to the altar of Mars, observes the sacrifice of numerous victims and prays for victory. A favourable response from hell comes in the form of three basilisks which swallow up the flames of the altar and the bursting of fire from the depths to reach the moon(st.18). In Sansón Nazareno, in response to Secafonte's plea the idol of Dagón demands a human sacrifice as the price for promising Samson's defeat. With the transformation of the grotto into a temple the act is swiftly expedited (st.27).

A third innovation is that the setting portrayed by Enríquez Gómez is not that of hell itself but the more down-to-earth seat of the cult of Dagón. If much of the description derives from Tasso (see below), whether directly or through such as Silveira, its hellish character remains entirely on the plane of metaphore and moral symbolism ( see Chapter Six, p.203 -4 ). There are no devils here, no fantastic beasts and creatures such as Silveira's 'estenopos' or Tasso's 'arpie...centauri, e sfingi, e pallide gorgoni', not to mention 'idre', 'Pitoni', 'Chimeri' and the like. Further, the Devil himself is replaced by a lifeless idol and his tirade, its stimulated or magically contrived mouthings: as we have already shown in earlier discussion of the religious themes in the poem, Enríquez makes it clear that Dagón is only an idol, bereft of real powers. It is consistency with this, the absolute contrast between the all-powerful One God and other gods, which leads him to omit Satan, not to mention devils and magic which is taken seriously (i.e. not seen as spurious). At the



same time, he may have had the feeling that these elements, particularly the Devil, were somehow Christian and inappropriate for a Jewish epic, prompted no doubt by Tasso's defence of his inclusion of the 'marvellous', Christian miracles and deeds of the Devil alike, as being part of Christian belief and accepted as true by ordinary people.<sup>28</sup>

To elaborate further, the sprites and other creations of hell are mentioned but they exist only for the purpose of analogy and particularly only in the minds of the pagans. 'Basiliscos', taken as actually existing by Tasso and Silveira, appear metaphorically in the description of Dagón as 'Exhalando la boca un basilisco / conque taladra el eminente risco' (S.N.XX.3.vii-viii) signifying that fire is emitted from his mouth. Secafonte refers to the soldiers of Palestine as 'flegetontes' (IX.19.ii), real men being likened to fiery spirits of hell (from Phlegeton, one of the rivers of Hades). One can compare this with the 'estonopos' who frequently come up from hell or act as messengers etc. in Silveira's poem. To illustrate the second point, Secafonte is described as summoning up the spirits of hell: 'a los espíritus avernos / Llamó de la caverna prodigiosa' (IX.20.i-ii). He believes there are spirits there but none is described as appearing on the scene: only a sulphurous smell emerges, which one may or may not take as an 'effect', produced by the magician himself.

As for mythical beasts, only centaurs occur in this passage, although in the gardens on Mount Gilboa, where stands the shrine in which the magic mirror is kept, a minotaur grazes (st.9) - though this may simply be one of the many classical statues which adorn the place. The centaurs, two in number, crop the blackened 'languid' grass at the foot of the statue of Dagón (st.5). Enríquez Gómez may have permitted himself the inclusion of such a beast because it arises from the classical tradition and serves to emphasise the 'mythological' or false nature of the cult concerned. Of the other beasts Tasso refers to, 'pitoni' alone find an echo in the serpent Dagón tramples underfoot, but again one notes that a sculpted representation

replaces the live creature of the Italian poem (compare Silveira's 'sierpes sanguinosas' which writhe at the base of Pluto's throne, Mac.III.18). Also, Fitón's name recalls 'pitoni' directly, although it may derive from the sorcerer who appears in the passage devoted to the Battle of Lepanto in Ercilla's Araucana (XXIII.79). The significance of serpent in both Tasso and Enríquez is the same, having the connotation of untrustworthiness and deceit arising from the Genesis story of Adam and Eve: Enríquez tends to make more of it with his frequent allusions to that source and original sin.

Enríquez's description of hell, as we have said, is metaphorical only but the sources of the terms employed are to be found in Tasso and Silveira. The reference to the location as a cavern comes from Tasso (Ger.lib.IV.3) but the idea of describing its entrance on the face of the earth derives from Silveira. 'Yace junto a Gazá... una soberbia gruta, /Cuya profunda y desigual caverna/ El negro imperio de Plutón enluta.' (S.N.IX.I.i-iv) Silveira (Mac.III.1-8) describes in greater detail the entrance to hell by Lake Avernus amid rocks splattered with the blood of sacrificial victims and hidden by pines where no birds sing. The emphasis on blackness in Enríquez description is as in Tasso's with his reference to 'l'aer cieco' and 'ombre eterne' cf. 'sombra', 'confusas nieblas', 'noche eterna' (S.N.IX.1) etc. Enríquez Gómez also employs many of the common classical terms for Hades, usually found reiterated by Tasso or Silveira, for example 'el negro imperio de Plutón' (S.N.IX.1; other references to Pluto; stanzas 9.10,18, 25); Caos (IX.2), 'el lago de Acarón' (IX.2) or Aqueronte (IX.Arg.), Averno, (IX.22) as well as the adjectives 'tartario' (IX.10,15) 'leteo' (IX.4) and 'estigio' (IX.22). The eyes of Secafonte are described as spitting out fire like 'Mongibelos' (S.N.IX.9) a term used frequently by Tasso including in his 'hell-scene' (Ger.lib.IV.8); the same analogy with Etna is used for the smoke and fire which engulfs the cavern at the end of Dagón's pronouncements (S.N.IX.25). On the other hand, while Enríquez's description stresses fire as the above-mentioned reference to Secafonte shows, as well



as attendant sulphur ('Sulfuria llama', S.N.IX.9 cf. Mac.III.19), Tasso emphasises the corresponding bodily humour, blood, as in his picture of Satan spewing forth blood and having blood-shot eyes (Ger.lib.IV.7 cf. Silveira's Pluto, Mac.III.19: blood is his 'element')

Lastly, the tone of moral disapproval evident in Tasso's poem, for example, in such parenthetical comments as 'concilio orrendo!' (Ger.lib. IV.2) finds its echo in the incidental adjectives Enríquez Gómez employs, such as 'tirano', 'vituperio' (IX.5) or 'soberbio' (IX.6). Although he describes the statue of Dagón as 'De lá envidia cruel fábrica tosca', he does not develop the personification of such vices in the same manner as Silveira who describes Pluto as clothed in revenge, bearing wings of Pride and having the ears of Obstinacy, the appetite of Luxury and the belly of Gluttony (Mac.III.20) or as Lope de Vega (perhaps the inspiration for Silveira) who names the spirits of hell as 'Soberbia', 'Auaricia', 'Laciuiia', 'Embidia' and so on (Jer.conq.VII, ed. cit., vol.1, p.288) Although occasionally Enríquez Gómez makes use of this kind of allegorical or symbolic device (as here) characterizing the pagan forces as 'envidia', 'soberbia' etc, on the whole he avoids it, preferring to let the total scene convey the message, while indicating his own opinion in his description of it. In this his practice is closer to Tasso's than to that of the Spanish poets mentioned.

To summarize this section, one can see that while, for example, Silveira develops his 'hell-scene' as a conscious imitation of Tasso's both in the function of the scene and in some of the elements within it, Enríquez Gómez in the process of working such an obligatory feature into his poem shows some independence of imagination in both these areas. Moreover, he ensures that the result is consistent with his religious views in not granting too much credence to pagan beliefs and practices - indeed he demonstrates some understanding of the psychology of primitive religion. Finally, he integrates the scene into his dramatic structure by making it

part of the building up to the decisive battle which takes the hero of the poem to the apogee of his powers and fortune and also, in another demonstration of originality, by making the cavern location transform into the same temple which sees the poem's final catastrophe (Book XIV).

5. Intervention of hell and heaven: It is logical that if little or no credence is given to hell and its forces, they will have no power of intervention in the affairs of men. Thus, in Sansón Nazareno there is no instance of the Devil appearing on the field of battle as occurs in Tasso's poem (VII.99 ff) when he appears in Clorinda's form to urge Oradin to shoot an arrow at Raymundo in contravention of the rules of chivalry. On the other hand, there is a scene of hellish intervention in Enríquez Gómez's Book VI, similar to that which follows the episode of Tasso's just mentioned, where the spirits of hell are unleashed to aid the pagans and where darkness and stormy confusion result. (There are two equivalent scenes in Silveira's poem; Canto VII in the battle between Gorgias and the Romans and Canto XIV where the hosts of hell attempt to set Jonathon off his course at sea). The fact of such an episode in Enríquez Gómez's poem would perhaps appear to contradict the comments in the previous section to the effect that hell only exists for the poet on a metaphorical level, since though neither Pluto nor the Devil themselves appear, we do find references to 'tartarios espíritus' and 'diversos monstros' (VI.51), 'espíritus ardientes' and 'ectenopos vivos' (VI.52) appearing on the scene with a presence which is real.

Undoubtedly, this scene is the poet's counterpart to Tasso's (and Silveira's) and he thought it necessary to include hellish creatures in his description. On the other hand, he employs various means to mitigate the breach of principle this represents. Firstly, the predominant feature of his passage is the confusion of elements and the dimension of cosmic involvement - thunder and lightning (st.44), wind and sea, confounding air and water (45), clouds in battle (46), earth and heavens confused,



with tropics and parallels disrupted and day and night merged together(47), thunder producing incandescent bolts (48), the wind bleeding and planets dislodged from their spheres (49), the mountains of Lebanon and Carmel clashing together (50) - such is the total upheaval which is produced. The tartarean spirits which then emerge (51-2) are but a part of this picture and as such can be seen as extensions of the contending cosmic and elemental forces, as they clash with fires in the heavens (or possibly even with each other, see: 'las legiones / de tartarios espíritus se ofenden', VI.51i-ii), rise and fall from the bowels of the earth and finally withdraw at the blast of 'La tesálica trompa' (52.v.cf.Satan's, Ger.lib.IV.3, derived from Claudian), leaving the earth shrouded in darkness. In other words, they would seem to be operating, if not entirely on a metaphorical level, on one of semi-metaphor.

Secondly, although these forces are summoned up by the magician Difonte (43) to reverse the imminent victory of the Israelites, they do not in fact take part in the fighting between the two armies, but remain in the sphere of cosmic turmoil, as part of a symbolic action which parallels, but does not interfere with, the action on the ground. The armies fight on in the darkness, almost as if they had been untouched by the events going on about them (54). Of course, the darkness is intended to aid the pagans, as it does in Gerusalemme liberata (VII.115), where it forces the Christians to withdraw. On the contrary, here it does not affect the outcome, the Israelites emerge victorious (cf.also El Macabeo VII.42-60, where hell's forces help Gorgias snatch victory from defeat). Thus, one can make a third point, which is that, although Enríquez Gómez apparently concedes Difonte the capacity to evoke the forces of hell, they are powerless to ensure the defeat of the representatives of God's cause; pagan arts have no power at all. In the end, therefore, the poet has not contravened the principles he has established for himself and which we have enunciated as the refusal to grant credence to pagan religion.

With regard to the contrary phenomenon, the intervention of heaven or the forces of heaven, Enríquez Gómez again stands out in his reluctance in this poem to accept the Christian panoply of heavenly beings any more than their counterparts in hell. The only angel that appears is the one who guides Samson to the 'Templo de la Fama' and he does so in the manner of the Old Testament, as simply the unnamed messenger of God.<sup>29</sup> Samson himself is called 'ángel' (S.N.I.34), which suggests that, on the whole, it is ordinary mortals who carry out the will of God, in conformity with the Jewish belief that God works through entirely human agents.

God's presence is, however, manifested on one occasion, on the eve of the crucial battle in Book IX, both in the occurrence of cosmic signs - the lion-like and the serpent-like comets - and in the cloud which appears and engulfs the combatting comets (IX.34)

... la nube, apagando los faroles,  
Bebió cometas y sorbió luceros;  
Pero, cuando los muertos arreboles  
Dieron en sombras parasismos fieros,  
Salió el león de triunfos coronado  
(S.N IX.34.iii-vii)

The appearance of the cloud is earlier described as:

Estiéndose una nube por de dentro,  
De Delia siendo el dilatado escudo,  
En campo negro, en pabellón segundo  
Blasón eterio de otro nuevo mundo.  
(S.N.IX.31.v-viii)

The analogy is with the column or cloud which accompanied the Children of Israel in the wilderness on their way to the Promised Land (see above, Chapter Six, p.216). God is present, but does not intervene, since his agent Samson is already on hand. One may contrast this with the events in Libro XVIII of Silveira's poem where God sends down five angels (including the Archangel Michael as in Ger.lib.IX.56) in answer to the pleas of 'Jerusalem' to destroy the 'spirits of Asia' (st.27) and hell. Silveira's source is to be found in II Maccabees 10.29, but the presentation is closely modelled on the scene in Gerusalemme liberata (IX.56-63) where Michael is



sent to rout the hellish spirits who are aiding the pagans. A cosmic 'mental batalla' ensues (in El Macabeo), a war of light and darkness which results in the retreat of hell and the victory of the Maccabeans with the aid of the angels. While something of the idea of a symbolic battle has come down from this to Enríquez Gómez's poem, one is immediately struck by the differences: angelic and demonic forces locked in combat as compared with representative comets and the involvement of the first with the warring soldiers as compared with the aloofness of the cosmic signs, whose function moreover is prognosticative.

On balance, Enríquez Gómez manages to maintain the purity of his biblical approach: neither angels nor devils have any real presence or part to play in the affairs of men. The forces of heaven and hell are represented but they stand apart as a metaphor of the good and evil between which men choose on their own and in free will.

6. Seers and magicians: Having made reference to the rôle of Difonte in the previous section, it is appropriate to consider here the rôle of seers and magicians in general in Sansón Nazareno. Firstly, one notes that Enríquez Gómez does not invent a prophet on the Israelite side to be the equivalent of Tasso's Peter the Hermit; this is in keeping with the biblical source where no such figure is mentioned nor even is any reference made to the priesthood, which might have provided an opportunity for invention. Nor is Samson himself cast in prophetic mould. By contrast, he gives free-rein to the invention of such characters on the pagan side. This is legitimate since there is the dramatic need to bring them to life as a contrast to the Israelite side and to provide an element of colour or fantasy but at the same time it represents something of the inventive falsehood of pagan cults. Enríquez's pagan priests are: Dalifagonte (VI.39), Secafonte (IX.6.ff), Avino (XII.6) and various 'talegrepos dagontanos' (VI.57). Difonte (VI.43) and Oliforno (IX.43) are referred to as magicians, while the most important character of this kind, Fitón, appears as both

magician and seer, having powers of astrology and prognostication. His powers, however, are limited and in this respect he differs from the equivalent characters in the poems of Tasso and Silveira. For example, Tasso's Ismeno creates a magic forest and his Armida, the magic castle in the Dead Sea and her palace on the Enchanted Isle, while Silveira's Dorida is similarly adept in magic arts. The purpose of Tasso's inventions, in addition to providing the necessary element of fantasy, is to demonstrate the snares and temptations which lie in wait for the unsuspecting and deflect the Christian soldier from his duty (Silveira similarly). As with Fitón, there is the limiting power of free-will, which if used by man can overcome these forces: Rinaldo proves this when he strikes down the myrtle into which Armida has disappeared in the magic wood (Ger.lib. XVIII.35) and Fitón's search for Samson's weak spot is dictated by the knowledge that 'las potencias / Mediante las del alma operaciones' can dominate over the force of the stars (S.N.X.21). But the essential difference is that the creations Tasso represents as coming from the hand of his magician demonstrate magic as an apparently effective force - it can invent these things even if they are illusion. Enríquez Gómez's Fitón cannot produce such wonders, except on the reduced level of the contrived setting of his shrine on Mount Gilboa, which is exotic rather than magical (S.N.X.1-12), and of the stage-managed effects with which he surrounds the cult of Dagón (IX.1-27). Moreover, when it comes to luring Samson from his duty, he knows that he must work through real people such as the prostitute of Gaza and Dalida, not through any display of magic artifice. Enríquez Gómez's approach may be much less exciting to the imagination than that of the other poets, but it is far more credible.

7. Prognostication using mirror/shield device: The idea of foretelling the future by means of a shield on which illustrations appear goes back to Tasso (Canto XVIII in the scene with the hermit and Rinaldo) and ultimately to Virgil (Aeneid, Book VIII). In Lope de Vega's Jerusalén conquistada (Libro XIII); the shield becomes a mirror, perhaps on the



basis of Tasso's description of Goffredo's vision of heaven (Ger.lib.XIV) as 'siccome entro uno specchio' (st.4). This change is maintained by Silveira (Mac.VII) and by Enríquez Gómez (S.N.X). The purpose to which the device is put, however, varies from poet to poet, with Lope following Tasso in using it to introduce a history of the family of the person to whom the poem is dedicated, in which the hero forms the genealogical link (Rinaldo with the House of Este, Alfonso with Phillip III). Silveira has the originality to hive this function off to the passage concerned with Dorida's palace, where the 'living scenes' depict the history of the House of Guzmán, while using the mirror sequence as 'pure prophecy' in the scene in which Dorida shows Seronte the future successes in battle of his generals, Nicanor and Gorgias (Book VII). Enríquez Gómez follows Silveira in this plan in his Libro X, where the mirror is employed by Fitón to plot the course Balonte should take in order to defeat Samson. The equivalent of the 'family history' sequence is to be found in Samson's vision of the worthies of Israel in Libro VII. Although there is no family connection between hero and subject of dedication in Silveira's poem, between Eleazaro and the Guzmán family (this no doubt accounts for his rearrangement of the sequences), the absence of such a connection in Sansón Nazareno may be significant in that it indicates that the poem is really dedicated to God and the people of Israel and only in a superficial sense to the Prince Condé. The omission of a history of this prince's family is not political caution but a conscious religious choice.

In both poems of the conversos, prognostication in this manner is reserved for the pagans (cf. Christian prophecy through seers in Tasso, Lope etc.), since it has no place on the side of a religion where revelation comes from God directly. And both poets give indications of its limitations, Silveira in that the prophecies prove fallacious and Enríquez Gómez in that the effectiveness of them is subject to the exercise of free-will. The predictions of Fitón are in any case more in the manner of probabilities than in proffered certainties - not the elaborate descriptions of sea battles

as in Silveira's poem, merely a glimpse of a scene where a treacherous woman drags Samson by the hair:

¡Mas ay! que de su trono soberano  
Una mujer con atrevido imperio,  
Llevada, sí, del interés profano,  
Le precipita a eterno cautiverio;  
De los cabellos por el aire vano  
Le trai, con tan horrible vituperio  
(S.N.X.29.1-vi)

There is dramatic irony, of course, in the reference to hair, but for seer and king it is only indicative of the possible power of women over their enemy. Once more, it seems, Enríquez Gómez has kept pagan faith in its place while at the same time whittling down the influences of Tasso to the proportions which fit his religious perspective.

Finally, in this section, there is some evidence of the influence of Lope de Vega on the poet (in addition to the mirror/shield substitution, which comes either directly or through Silveira). In Jerusalén conquistada (XIII) the consultation of the mirror takes place after a short journey into the countryside on which Alfonso, Garzerán and Ismenia are guided by Mafandal, the Egyptian seer and the mirror is encountered in a sacred wood ('el sagrado bosque', XIII, ed.cit., vol.2, p.126, l.13-14), strung between 'Dos Pyramides verdes, o cipreses' (XIII, p.126.1). As befits this pastoral setting there is a stream in which the mirror's reflection provides a counterpart for the shining moon, a poetic opportunity which Lope exploits (p.126, 17-24). Both the principal elements of journey and setting are found in Enríquez's poem, Fitón and Balonte climbing Gilboa at dawn (S.N.X.1.cf.Lope's journey at night) and the familiar Petrarchan topos of stream, woods, nightingales. (S.N.X.7, 11 and 8 respectively: the last is matched in Lope in reverse, with his reference to the birds avoiding the pines, Jer.conq. XIII, p.126, 2-3). However, apart from perhaps the common reference to vines - 'Trepan las vides por la parra hermosa' (S.N.X.8.v-vi) cf. 'concauos formados / De parras, y de espinos trepadores, / En cuyos brazos cuelgan intrincados / Rácimos verdes..' (Jer.conq. XIII, p.125, 25-8) -



there is little correlation between the descriptive terms used and there is a basic divergence between Lope's natural setting and the contrived, artificial scenery of Enríquez Gómez's description (see 'Artificiosamente...' S.N.X.9.i and 'los fingidos bosques de Diana', st.11.i) with its 'aleas' and classical statues representing Cupid (st.4), Anteon and Jason (6) and so on. There is, however, enough of a structural similarity between the two passages to suggest that Enríquez Gómez's does echo Lope's.

8. Dream and vision of the future: The model here is Canto XIV of Gerusalemme liberata, where in a dream Goffredo is transported by Hugo, the deceased Frankish king to heaven, where he is told of his own death but of the Crusaders' victory. Silveira's version (Book XIII) follows Tasso's in many respects: Judas' guide is also a dead hero, Mattathias, his father; he makes three attempts to embrace him, as Goffredo does Hugo (Mac.XIII.3 cf. Ger.lib.XIV.6); his death is predicted but victory assured (Mac.XIII.61 cf. Ger.lib.XIV.8); detailed prophecy is made of ensuing events, for example the return of Eleazaro (Mac.XIII.69) cf. that of Rinaldo (Ger.lib.XIV.12). In contrast, Enríquez Gómez does not name Samson's guide, nor does he imitate such details as the vain embraces. Unlike Tasso and Silveira, his purpose is not in some way to advance the epic plot, by delineating the course which the hero should or will follow and to give the reader a glimpse of the events that will occur between the point reached and the final climax. Samson is mentioned only briefly by Enríquez Gómez and without special emphasis (VII.36); his death is alluded to but not the events which lead up to it. It stands apart from the rest of the poem, as does Book VII as a whole. On the other hand, in addition to its thematic function in showing Samson's ascendancy on a religious plane (as compared with the military plane in Book VI), this canto does have a general dramatic function in common with the other two poems in providing a way of buoying up hope and setting immediate events in context. However, Enríquez Gómez is concerned not so much with sustaining the reader till he sees the triumphal outcome at the end of the poem, but with what lies beyond that point, the ultimate

messianic salvation which is assured in spite of the tragic demise of the hero.

There is another purpose to which Enríquez Gómez puts his borrowed scene, which provides a new variation on the pattern. While Silveira drew on Tasso's brief description of heaven to paint a picture with all the descriptive power at his command and with the help of the book of Revelation (see Chapter Six, p. 237 ff.), Enríquez Gómez turns his setting into 'el Templo de la Fama', probably but not emphatically heavenly, in order to portray all the heroes of Israel from Abraham to the coming Messiah. The final destination of this historical pageant derives from Silveira, as we have seen, but it may find its starting point in another scene of Tasso's where in the midst of the siege of Jerusalem Goffredo is shown the Council of the Saints in heaven (Ger.lib.XVIII.94). This, in addition to Silveira's reference to 'Profetas, sacerdotes, Patriarcas etc.' (Mac. XIII.53) gaining heavenly reward, may have suggested a presentation of those who have been elected by God. At the same time, this canto represents Enríquez's version of the antecedents of the subject of the poem's dedication, as we saw in the previous section. He thus combines this element with that of the prophetic dream in order to present a dramatic and original centre-piece for the expression of the themes of national and religious deliverance, of messianic triumph, which are the main purpose of his work. Out of the example of others he creates a veritable tour de force.

9. Romance in pastoral setting: The loves of Samson provide the same elements of variety and contrast with the scenes of war as do those of Tasso's Tancredi and Rinaldo and Silveira's Rodocheo and Eleazaro. But, while exploiting them to that end, by elaborating the descriptions of the encounters and of the moods of love and passion, he refrains from inventing characters and incidents beyond reasonable inference from the biblical source, simply in order to provide a vehicle for such digressions. Silveira invents Rodocheo and Ariclea and the exploits of Eleazaro with Dorida to match those



of Tancredi and Clorinda, Rinaldo and Armida. Enríquez Gómez could have done the same, by for example inventing similar affairs for Zabulón, but instead he chooses to work within the character and narrative relating to Samson already provided. Zabulón, incidentally, is the only character who breaks the poet's rule about not inventing characters on the Israelite side; if this is so, it is done for the sound dramatic reason of personalizing a confrontation (at Ramat Lehi, Libro VIII) already related in the Bible. It underlines his refusal to exploit the character in order to provide romantic episodes.

The pastoral setting in which two of Samson's love affairs take place (Dalestina and Dalida) owe something to Tasso's example, with perhaps some help from Silveira (Mac.V & VI, Ariclea and Rodocheo). In particular, the encounter of Samson with Dalestina in a wood by a stream is reminiscent of both Tancredi's chance meeting by 'un fonte vivo' with an unknown pagan girl, later revealed as Clorinda (Ger.lib.1.45), and Erminia's escape from the sounds of war to the peace of the country-side by the River Jordan, where she lies down to sleep (Ger.lib.VII.3 ff) Dalestina is found asleep by the unsuspecting Samson, but this would seem an obvious situation to contrive and one not necessarily derived from Tasso. The idea of retreat from warfare hardly arises in the case of Dalestina, except in that Samson has just previously been refused permission by the Elders of Israel to attack the Philistines (1.27-34). Though he does not actually leave the battlefield (cf. Rodocheo and Ariclea), this is the reason why he comes to be in the wood and the idea of the contrast of war with amorous pursuits may owe something to Tasso. (It is after all the way Enríquez has chosen to introduce this first love affair). In the case of Dalida, military exploits continue alongside the love affair, but again the contrast between the two may have been made with Tasso in mind. On the other hand, it is obvious from the poet's delight in elaborating the Petrarchan scene of woods, stream and song-birds, with conceits and lyricism combined, that Enríquez Gómez has responded to his own instincts to exploit the occasions

arising from his story. In doing so he was no doubt aware that love and pastoral description were accepted ingredients in the epic of his time.

10. The Enchantress's Palace: this has already been discussed as an example of the poet's direct recourse to Tasso (see pp.233-5). Let it suffice to repeat that Enríquez Gómez has produced an equivalent to Tasso and Silveira by extending ideas which procede logically from his narrative and without resorting to what one might call 'pure invention'. Dalida's house is a 'real' one not a figment of magic imagination: the magic is in the eye of the beholder. The structure of the passage and its thematic purpose probably are inspired by Tasso, rather than Silveira.

One can say of all these examples that clearly the influence of Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata has come down to Enríquez Gómez, in some cases directly, in others possibly directly but reinforced through the practice of other poets. There is no doubt that Sansón Nazareno stands incontrovertibly within that group of Spanish epics which were written with Tasso's poem more centrally in mind than was the case of others. On the other hand, while responding to the influence of that tradition, of that model, Enríquez Gómez has taken some pains to integrate his borrowings and absorb them into the basically biblical narrative which he relates, in the following ways: a) no character or incident is invented in order to accomodate a borrowing where they may be derived explicitly or implicitly from the source (see 1,2,9,10 above); b) no inclusion of an idea is allowed to distort the unfolding of the Old Testament narrative, although it may hold it up for a time (as in the case of 3, the siege in Book VI); c) the total number of borrowings is intentionally limited, as is implicit in the first two points; d) some effort is made to ring changes on the model, by using an idea in a different context or in a new combination with another idea (e.g. 7 and 8 above); e) borrowings are made to fit in with and serve the religious views propagated by the poem (see 4,5,6).



Finally, given these principles and given the practice of the poet as compared with that of other writers in the same mould, it would seem right to view Enríquez Gómez's epic as an example of moderation and some originality. While not for a moment denying that Sansón Nazareno is an imitation of Tasso and is no longer the story of Samson quite as related in the book of Judges, one would deny the contention of Pierce that it is a travesty of that story:

... el poeta judío Henríquez Gómez se tomó las mayores libertades con los textos de la Biblia: la historia de Sansón queda, en sus manos, convertida en la de un caballero cruzado.

(Pierce, op.cit.p.262)

On the contrary, one would contend that he was more successful than many in combining Tasso and the Bible.

## ii) Miguel de Silveira's 'El Macabeo':

We have already seen from the discussion of the Prologue to Sansón Nazareno how Antonio Enríquez Gómez held Miguel de Silveira's El Macabeo in high esteem. In addition to what has been said above with respect to their respective and sometimes common theories concerning the epic, the influence of Silveira on Enríquez Gómez can be seen in several ways. First, there is a discernible intention of imitation, seen in the choice of a biblical theme, although this conforms with his own principles (we shall return to this below). This can be seen also on a superficial level simply by placing copies of the first edition of each side by side and opening them. In each work, the format is the same with copper engravings to illustrate the events of each canto, with in one case a clear example of borrowing. In the plate to Book VII of the Sansón, Samson is shown borne aloft by an angel who is holding him by the hair. No reference is made to this in the text itself, but the plate to Book XIV of El Macabeo shows Eleazaro carried in exactly the same manner - and there is a reference to it in the text (Mac.XIV.28).

The second area of influence is to be seen in the fact that Silveira's

poem has been a principal intermediary on occasion between Tasso and Enríquez Gómez. Examples where the latter has followed Silveira's lead are in the use of the mirror for prognostication rather than as a means of introducing the history of the ancestors of the person to whom the poem is dedicated (S.N.X cf. Mac.VII) and in the introduction of the theme of the Messiah into the dream of the hero (S.N.VII cf. Mac.XIII). In this second example, one may discern extensive correlation in the presentation of the Messiah, in structure, detail and sources used, as well as negatively in sometimes reacting against his model (see Chapter Six, pp. 238-47.). On the whole, however, Enríquez Gómez is less reliant on Tasso for his effects, less inclined than Silveira to seek out ways of introducing equivalents to Tasso's ideas into his poem; for example, the adventures of Eleazaro to match those of Rinaldo. Generally Enríquez exhibits a dramatist's eye for structural unity and cohesion, for the need to progress logically and clearly from incident to incident, in preference to the pursuit of unlimited incident and variety. Thus, Silveira exploits the use of extraneous narrations, in the manner of Camoens, as in the case of the martyrdom of the widow and her seven sons (Mac.IX, drawn from II Macabees 7), while Enríquez rejects it as a technique. Quite possibly this leads to a relative impoverishment of Enríquez's epic style, in comparison with Silveira's, but his approach produces a greater sense of direction and purpose as compared with Silveira's diffusion of the dramatic impetus through seemingly endless narrated digressions.

A third point brings us back for a moment to the theories which the two poets have in common, in particular the high place accorded to biblical subject matter. Silveira obviously regards the Bible as an important source, since he expounds the view that the biblical hero is an 'ideal' type. On the other hand he does not elevate this to the principle of biblical superiority in the manner of Enríquez Gómez. He argues further that the epic poet must attempt to reconcile the ideals of historicity with the demands of the epic genre. In practice, Silveira pursues the latter at the expense of the former, while Enríquez Gómez adheres more closely to the ideal of



history, i.e. fidelity to the Bible. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the case of borrowing from Tasso, as we have seen, with Silveira reaching out in the direction of the Italian model and Enríquez Gómez making every effort to enfold it within his chosen biblical sphere. Now it is true that Silveira sometimes draws on material from the Apocrypha for his excursions, for example the martyrdom of Rosmira's father, Eleazaro, (Mac.VI.36-84 cf. II Maccabees 6.18-31), or for the source of a counterpart to an element in Tasso's poem, for example, the sword of Jeremiah derived from II Maccabees 15.14-16 (Mac.I.11 cf. Sweno's sword given to Rinaldo, Ger.lib. VIII.34); and he exploits much material from the first Book of Maccabees in his narrative. Nonetheless, there is an impression of total immersion in Tasso and a loss of the feeling of the biblical story. In Enríquez Gómez's poem this feeling is preserved, particularly by the fact that the one major excursus which steps outside the narrow dramatic framework (cf. the battles of VI and cavern etc. of IX,X), the vision of Book VII, is drawn from the Old Testament as a whole.<sup>30</sup>

As concerns the poetic language used by Enríquez Gómez, it would not be true to say that he had been greatly influenced by Silveira. There is a certain similarity in their styles in that both make rather mechanical allusions to classical mythology (e.g. Enríquez's 'Ceres' for 'wheat' cf. Silveira's 'Morfeo' for 'sleep') with Silveira possibly displaying greater direct acquaintance than Enríquez; both draw on a common stock of cosmological imagery ('ejes', 'coluros', 'regiones', 'la quinta esfera de Marte' etc.) with little interest in the total 'scientific' picture from which they spring; and both on the whole aim for claridad of poetic style, albeit with ample use of periphrasis, conceits and culto images. On the other hand, these examples represent no more than a common poetic tradition or background and a general similarity in literary outlook on the part of two men who knew each other and moved in the same literary circles. Moreover, if one looks at the most outstanding or original images of Enríquez Gómez's poem, it is difficult to find any case where it can be traced back to Silveira.

In general, Enríquez Gómez's style tends to be more polished and flow more freely, while at the same time more consciously seeking after poetic complexity through conceits and developed imagery. Above all, he is the greater lyric poet of the two.

One may, however, discern the influence of Silveira on Enríquez Gómez's poetic vocabulary. E.Glaser (op.cit.p.12) observed in Silveira's poem a tendency to use 'dated' terms (such as 'ovanto' and 'flavo'), proparoxytones (e.g. 'cerúleas') and other Latinisms after the example of Camoens. Enríquez Gómez follows him in this to a limited extent. Possibly his invention of words, such as 'dagontino' or 'dagontano' (adjectives from Dagón) or 'lilibeo' (for mass of soldiers, troop), is his response to Silveira's type of linguistic procedure, as too his use of nouns for adjectives; for example, 'luz coluro'(X.12) or 'los arpones movimientos' (VI.21). The 'dated' terms which Glaser lists include 'canoro', which Enríquez Gómez frequently uses, but this is perhaps only a common culto term: Quevedo includes it among the terms he makes fun of in his satire on Góngora's Soledades, entitled 'Madrigal satírico' (1625).<sup>31</sup> Enríquez Gómez follows the other poet in using proparoxytones to some extent, such as 'purpúreo' and 'cerúleo', but as his usage is almost entirely confined to words ending in '-eo' and he frequently replaces this with the orthography '-io' thus giving the word a normal stress on the penultimate syllable (in the case of 'elisio', 'tartario' and 'sulfurio', consistently), it may be doubtful whether he really is interested in exploiting this form in the manner of Silveira. On the other hand, Enríquez follows him in the use of participial adjectives, such as 'nadante' and 'circunstante' (e.g. 'nadantes plumas' S.N.I.49). Lastly, the names which Silveira invents for his Syrian characters, have their influence on Enríquez, though in conjunction with that of Tasso (see above, p.288). He borrows Silveira's Polidante (S.N.IX.35 cf. Mac.XVII.52) but on the whole the influence is confined to the ending '-onte', as in Balonte cf. Trifonte (Mac.III.35) or Difonte (S.N.VI.43) cf. Demofonte



(Mac.II.48). Such splendid creations as Dalifagonte (S.N.VI.39) or Balibalonte (S.N.VIII.5), however, though owing something to the inspiration of Silveira, would seem to spring from our poet's own imagination. Other minor examples of Silveira's influence may possibly be seen in Enríquez Gómez's fondness for the rhyme 'enrosca'/'desenrosca' (e.g. S.N.VIII.1, cf. Mac.III.10) and the use of 'Etonte' for the sun, although this may in each case have arisen independently from Lope de Vega.<sup>32</sup>

It can be said, in conclusion, that the influence of Silveira on Enríquez Gómez as concerns Sansón Nazareno is on the whole at its least as one moves in the direction of the writing itself and at its most on the level of theory and general inspiration. Enríquez Gómez singles Silveira's poem out ostensibly as the greatest epic written in the Castilian language, but implicitly for the fact that it deals with a biblical theme. Since he already assigns to El Macabeo the laurels of the Spanish epic (see S.N. Prólogo, pp.ii-iii), it is clear that he himself does not aspire to that honour. On the contrary, he seeks to outdo Silveira as a writer of an epic on a biblical theme and in so doing lay claim to the title of representative of the Jewish epic.<sup>33</sup> Silveira has thus been instrumental in urging Enríquez Gómez in the direction of such a topic and such an enterprise, while his own personal preoccupations dictated the particular theme of Samson and his martyrdom.

In terms of literary theory, moreover, Enríquez Gómez concurred with Silveira's ideal of marrying the epic with the biblical source and admired his poem for what it had achieved in that direction. However, he was, as the differences in practice clearly demonstrate, dissatisfied with Silveira's execution of the task of harmonizing possibly contradictory ideals. Hence, Enríquez Gómez's attempt at greater biblical fidelity and his emphasis on the Jewish national and religious motifs of his poem, typified by placing at the centre of his poem a panorama of Jewish, not Portuguese history as in Silveira's poem. Thus, Enríquez Gómez's aim is the same as Silveira's, but his solution is the opposite; at the same time he reaches beyond

Silveira's example towards another ideal - the Jewish or perhaps more properly the Marrano epic.

This then is the relevance of Miguel de Silveira's poem to Sansón Nazareno: as an indirect but essential ideal not as the model in itself of poetic practice. Enríquez Gómez may follow his lead towards Tasso, he may imitate some minor points of style, but in the main his style is his own. He in no way seeks to reproduce the other poet's work. This is the point which Menéndez y Pelayo missed: his comment: 'Con decir que el autor [de Sansón Nazareno] se propuso por modelo el Macabeo de Miguel de Silveira, está dicho todo'<sup>34</sup> is as unfair as it is inaccurate. It is his way of dismissing a work whose baroque and high-flown style does not suit his own taste and prejudice. However, it is legitimate to point out with F. Pierce (op.cit.p.314), who otherwise concurs with the earlier critic, that in its day El Macabeo was well received and admired by such as Juan Mártir Rizo, Salas Barbadillo and Nicolás Antonio, so that Enríquez Gómez's praise of it is not misplaced nor inordinately partisan. But this, in a way, is beside the point: Silveira's poem was not the model for his Sansón in the sense these critics would have us believe. Rather it was the catalyst for Enríquez Gómez's own thoughts; it set before him the ideal of the biblical epic but without, in his opinion, having achieved it already. Because of this, Enríquez Gómez set himself to achieve what Silveira had failed to do and produce a poem which both harmonized the epic with the Bible and epitomized the commitment and yearnings of the Marrano.

\* \* \* \* \*

To stress, as we have done in the preceeding argument, the principle of fidelity to the biblical narrative and the attendant effort to absorb the influence of Tasso and others, is not to deny the obvious fact that Antonio Enríquez Gómez has made of the story of Samson what is in many respects a typical epic of his period. In addition to the Italian influences which



we already discussed, one may point to several other aspects which one would expect to find in any epic.

Firstly, there is the national theme of Israel against the Philistines, symbolic as it is of Marranos in Spain. This compares with, for example, the Portuguese national theme presented by Camoens in his Lusiadas or the Christian nationalism of Tasso's Gerusalemme liberata, a comparison which the poet himself appears to recognize when in his Prólogo (p.ii-iii) he assigns one epic per language or nation.

Secondly, there is the aspect of the confrontation between 'true' and 'false' religion, which has been extensively discussed in relation to the themes of the poem (Chapter Six, p. 201ff.). This gives rise to a certain development of parallelism, also typical of the epic and seen, for example, when Samson calls on God to aid him in battle (VI.17) while Dagón calls on his gods (VI.14) or in the use of the adjective 'circunciso' and 'incircunciso' complementarily or pejoratively according to whether used from the Israelite or Philistine point of view (e.g. Dagón as 'general incircunciso', VI.7 - pejoratively - cf. Secafonte's reference to dead Philistine heroes as 'incircuncisos corazones', IX.14). One may mention also the representation of a 'true prophecy' on the Israelite side, the messianic vision of Book VII, as compared with the 'false prophecy' by Dagón of Philistine victory, in Book IX. On the other hand, this parallelism does not extend to the inclusion of a hieratic order on the Israelite side to parallel that of the Philistines (see Secafonte, Fitón etc.): this is in conformity with the refusal of the poet to invent, as far as is possible, non-biblical characters among the Israelites, as well as the avoidance of any suggestion that the opposing faiths are 'equal but different'. Enríquez Gómez prefers to emphasise the absolute nature of the difference between paganism and the faith of Israel.

Parallelism in religion is matched by that in the civic and military

spheres: each side is governed by a senate and 'magistrado' (though presided over by the king in the case of the Philistines) and each army is presented in corresponding battle-order, with leaders (who harangue their troops) and various commanders marching past behind them (see IX.38-44, Philistines cf. IX.45-9, Israelites). On other occasions, however, particularly in the earlier part of the poem, the situation is the equally traditional one of the 'few against the many', as when in Book VI Samson with his 'pequeño escuadrón impetuoso' (st.5) attacks Dagón's forces or in Book VIII breaks his bonds at Lehi to lead three thousand Israelites against twelve thousand of the enemy. (In each case, prior to battle Samson points out that paucity of numbers means nothing if they have God on their side.)

As for the person of the hero, Samson, Enríquez Gómez endows him with all the qualities appropriate for an epic hero, the first of which is noble status. This is seen in the reference to his father, Emanuel, as 'tan celebrado... en el tribu de Dan, que le venera / El sacro anal sobre los cielos once' (I.7)<sup>35</sup> and in Zabulón's call to the Philistines to respect his 'clara nobleza' and 'ilustre sangre' which derive from Emanuel. The preoccupation of the hero with honour is also observable, as for example in the passage where he addresses the Senate of Israel and asserts that to live in servitude deprives each and every one of them of his honour (I.18ff.). In his slaying of the thirty Philistines in order to pay the prize for answering the riddle (IV.37ff.), the aspect of vengeance for personal slight (the suborning of his wife) is duly emphasised, as is the motive of personal honour arising from the burning of Dalestina, which combines with the national imperative to urge him into open warfare with the Philistines (Bk.V)

In battle Samson is naturally shown in Book I as more courageous and eager than all others, as can be seen from his spirited call to the Elders of Israel to take action against Philistine domination or in his argument with Zabulón in Book VIII in which he opposes the latter's caution.



He always leads his men into battle and is subsequently often there to save the lives of lesser warriors, such as Leví (VI.40: 'cortaran sus años juveniles / A no acudirle nazarena llama'). His exploits, moreover, recall those of Ariosto's Orlando or Tasso's Rinaldo, as he destroys his opponents with instant efficiency, hurling them down a mountainside with a deft back-hand stroke (VI.28), dispatching ten warriors with a single blow (VIII.48) or causing the whole countryside to flow with blood (VIII.49, IX.56). One may also point to the 'minor miracles' which he achieves, such as catching arrows in mid-air (VI.27) or plucking at a spear which pins him to a rock and hurling it with deadly accuracy at his assailant (VIII.58).

However, to a large extent, this image of the heroic Samson is the representation in kind of the marvellous element in the biblical source itself - for example, in Samson's use of an ass's jaw-bone to slay a thousand Philistines (VIII.47-52 cf. Judg. 15.15) or his carrying off the gates of Gaza on his shoulders (X.60 cf. Judg. 16.3). Further, even though Enríquez Gómez's Samson changes during the course of Book VI from the lone warrior to something akin to a crusader knight, the poet declines to define him completely within that rôle, for as we saw earlier he does not present him as selected as champion to do battle on their behalf (cf. Silveira's Eleazaro) though he occasionally confronts the principal warrior of the other army (Dagón, VI.28; Tagarino, VIII.57), nor is any single pagan elected to encounter him (cf. Silveira's Andrónico and Tasso's Argantes). The poet does not describe him either as fighting in accordance with the rules of chivalry, for example, calling on his adversary to surrender or withholding the final blow as an act of mercy (cf. Argante and Ottone, Ger. lib. VI.34 ff), nor depict each stage of individual contests in the manner of mediaeval jousts with the combatants progressing from lance on horseback to swords on foot. Lastly, though there are occasional references to helmets, Samson himself is never described as accoutred in full armour, with breast-plate, helmet etc. (There is indeed a general lack of interest shown in the details of warfare, though archers foot-soldiers, cavalymen, catapults etc. are

mentioned, - as if the poet were seeking a relatively timeless presentation to fit the biblical setting.)

Finally, one of the oldest elements of the epic tradition is that of the extra-human dimension of dreams (or visions), oracles and cosmic signs. The first two have been considered fully in connection with the influence of Tasso and it has been shown that Enríquez Gómez draws on that influence and puts it to his own use: the dream of Book VII becomes a channel for the presentation of the messianic dimension of the poem and the pagan oracle in Book IX an object lesson in free-will and pagan credulity. The last (cosmic signs) is seen in the prelude to the climactic battle of Book IX, where on the eve of the conflict two comets appear in the shape of a lion and a serpent to simulate the events to come. This is a sign from God, but one which consciously avoids the involvement of angels, which may have been regarded by the poet as having Christian associations.

Even as one enumerates the many 'typical' features of the epic which are present in Enríquez Gómez's Sansón Nazareno, one is aware of an effort on the poet's part to keep them in check. Thus, while one would agree in in general way with Pierce's comment:

Observa gran fidelidad para los motivos bíblicos, aunque, por otro lado, sus abundantes recursos poéticos haga de él una epopeya, más o menos dentro de la tradición de Virgilio y de Tasso.

(op.cit.,p.260)

one would put the emphasis differently. The success of Enríquez Gómez's poem is that it manages to keep faith with the biblical story, while at the same time creating an epic in the full tradition of the genre. The poem is in many respects a typical product of the Golden Age, combining a broadly-speaking religious theme with the practical homage to Tasso. Yet it succeeds also in the relatively unusual task of recreating an Old Testament source in contemporary terms but with much of the original spirit intact. If one takes into account further the central position occupied in the poem by the expression of the three-fold themes - national, religious and personal -



together with the observed effort to absorb all epic influences into the biblical narrative and mood, one may, on balance, conclude that the epic aspects do not dominate. On the contrary, one is left with the over-riding impression of biblical fidelity and 'Jewish' commitment as the most important elements in the work as a whole. If this is so, then Sansón Nazareno may be regarded a singular and somewhat original achievement among the epics of the Golden Age.

Notes to Chapter Seven.

1. For this section see: F.Pierce, La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro (2nd. edition), Madrid, 1968, passim.
2. See Discorsi del poema heroico, in A.H.Gilbert Literary Criticism - Plato to Dryden, New York, 1940, p.478 ff. This anthology also contains the theoretics of Aristotle and Horace, to which reference is made below. (All subsequent references are to Gilbert)
3. A.Porqueros Mayo, El prólogo en el manierismo y barroco españoles, Madrid, 1960, p.20.
4. The Prólogo may be found below, Part II, Texts, pp.390 - 9, additionally paginated i-xi, for convenience of reference.
5. See Chapter One, note 4. In addition to Fernán Mendez Pinto, La prudente Abigail (in Academias morales, 1642) may have been written for New Christian audiences in France.
6. This work is omitted by name but included in the poet's total of nine works in nine years. Note that it is also absent from a second list of the poetic and prose works on the following page of the Prólogo: evidently the poet did not wish openly to lay claim to it, either out of literary or political embarrassment.
7. Who this literary hack was is impossible to say: someone notorious enough in his day to be designated by a solitary initial but long since passed into oblivion; not Montalbán who is referred to earlier as 'notable ingenio'
8. See Gilbert edition, p.479.
9. Quoted by Pierce, op.cit. p.239. (No British location).
10. Pierce, op.cit., p.240.
11. See also the projected works (Prólogo, p.viii) Aman y Mardocheo and Josue.
12. We have already seen that this bias in favour of the Old Testament is essentially a Marrano one, see above, p.140.
13. Gilbert, p.480, para.14.
14. Pierce, op.cit., p.234



15. E.Glaser, 'Miguel da Silveira's "El Macabeo"', Revue des études portugaises et de l'institut français en Portugal, vol 21 (1959), p.8.
16. In Estudios sobre Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1946, vols.1-2.
17. For an example of one side of the argument that of the claros, see Lope de Vega Carpio, 'Aprobación' to Orfeo en Lengua Castellana... por el doctor Iuan Perez de Montalban, Madrid, 1638, fol.3.
18. Enríquez Gómez's fourteen cantos, though not unique, represent an unusual length for an epic of the period (see: Pierce, op.cit., pp226-30); there seems to be no apparent reason for his choice, though he must have decided that there was no justification for extending the material to match the twenty cantos of Tasso's model.
19. Curiously, Pierce, op.cit., p.246, n.4, omits Sansón Nazareno from his list of religious or biblical epics, while he includes El Macabeo.
20. C.A.de la Barrera, Catálogo ...del teatro antiguo español, Madrid, 1860, p.142, in making the same observation, credits his contemporary Farjado with the attribution.
21. S.Wynter, 'A critical edition of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's A lo que obliga el honor', M.A.Thesis, University of London, 1954.
22. All quotations from Gerusalemme liberata are from the edition of Eugenio Camerini, Milan, 1887.
23. By contrast, classical statues are depicted adorning the garden on Mount Gilboa, where Fitón makes his prognostications (Bk.X): this exemplifies the poet's non-slavish approach to borrowings from others.
24. This is no doubt unfair to Silveira, whose evocation of the scene is imaginative and well-executed, but the impression that he attempts to include all the elements of the model persists.
25. J. de Entrambasaguas edition, Madrid, 1951, vol.2, p.107.
26. Glaser (op.cit.p.15) discerns the influence of Camoens on Silveira here. This may be so, but the context of these adventures, not to say the rôle of Eleazaro at large, seems principally to derive from Tasso.
27. Note also Onias, the High Priest, though not invented, presented as the counterpart to Tasso's Peter the Hermit.

28. See Gilbert, op.cit.(note 2 above) p.480, para 14.
29. It is only in the later books that they are named and presented in the manner of courtiers in a heavenly palace (e.g. Michael and Gabriel in the Book of Daniel).
30. Compare the use made by Hojeda in La Cristiada of biblical and other material to enhance the biblical feeling of a poem (for example the visions of Old Testament heroes in Cantos III and IV).
31. See Luis de Góngora, Poesías: Polifemo, Soledades, and other poems ed. J.W.Barker, Cambridge 1942, p.xxvii.
32. In a note to Jerusalén Conquistada, Canto XV, (ed.cit.vol.2,p.468), Lope refers to Phlegon and Ethonte as the horses of Phaeton, having misunderstood a reference in Odyssey (XIII.246) to Phaeton and Lumpus, the colts that bring in the dawn: see A.K.Jameson, 'Lope de Vega's knowledge of classical literature, Bulletin Hispanique, vol.38 (1936)
33. Enríquez Gómez appears not to have known of Jacob Uziel's David (Venice, 1624) or if he knew of it, he ignores it as not being concerned with the Marrano context he has in mind.
34. M.Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, (2nd edition), Madrid, 1965, vol.4, p.319.
35. This elevated view of Emanuel/Manoach is non-biblical and derives from Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews (trans. Whiston), Book V.8, para 2.



## Conclusion

In presenting the two poems, Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente and Sansón Nazareno, the attempt has been made in the preceeding chapters to illuminate the religious side of the poet, Antonio Enríquez Gómez; the side not normally perceived through his satirical poetry, his comedias de capa y espada and through the more generally known aspects of his biography - his commercial and political activities. In these two poems the residual feelings of a life-time came to the fore, perhaps to disappear for ever, perhaps to remain constantly with him.

In particular the two works have been presented as the product of a crisis in the poet's life, a moment of decision in which his Jewish allegiance was both expressed and examined, with the Romance al divín mártir representing the most intense out-pouring of religious feeling, under the external impulse of messianic events, and Sansón Nazareno, a more generalized statement of identity, public hence covert and symbolic, yet in some ways a more private searching into the soul.

There are of course other aspects of the poems which might be considered - principally a consideration of them as works of literature. As far as the Romance al divín mártir is concerned, the view has been taken that its main significance lies in the ideas it presents and in the image it gives of the poet's religious attitudes and level of knowledge. Therefore, the literary aspects have been largely ignored. Sansón Nazareno, however, is different in that it is manifestly intended - we have the poet's own word for it - to stand as a work of literature, whatever its psychological function or thematic import. Hence, it has been discussed as an epic and its points of correlation or distinctiveness as compared with others of its period and genre have been highlighted. Here again, however, it has been felt that a full literary analysis of the work lies outside the scope and intention of this study; thus it has not been pursued, save in allusions made in passing in the

course of the discussion of other aspects of the poem and in the notes which accompany the text. The task of a complete literary assessment of both poems, in particular Sansón Nazareno, will be left to a later date or to others.

Principally, therefore, it is intended that the two poems of martyrdom of Antonio Enríquez Gómez should be viewed, as far as this study is concerned, as the expression of religious sentiment and group allegiance on the part of a New Christian judaizer - a Marrano - at a particular point in time, that they be seen indeed as the Jewish poems of Antonio Enríquez Gómez. As such they are the testament of all those who like him stood at the crossroads of doubt and commitment.



Part Two: Texts.

A. The 'Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente'

i) Description of the Text:

The Romance al divín mártir is a poem of 550 lines in length, in octosyllabic romance form, assonated 'e-o'. As is usual with the later, written romance, it divides into four-line stanzas, with the exception of three six-line stanzas (ll.9-14, 331-6 and 517-22)

The text as it appears below is based on the manuscript Opp.Add.4<sup>o</sup> 151 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Neubauer Catalogue 2481/5, fols.46<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>), where it appears under the title:

Romance Al diuin Martir Juda Creyente / martirizado em valle dolosid  
p la inquisision.

Account has been taken, however, of the two other known copies, the essentially complete manuscript in the library of the Portugees Israelitisch Seminarium 'Etz Haim', Amsterdam (MS.48 A 23) and the transcription published by C.Roth (Revue des études juives, vol.97,1934) from a partial manuscript copy in the library of the Talmud Torah Community, Livorno (Bernheimer Catalogue,Cod.55.TT/5).

The Bodleian manuscript has been preferred to the other complete copy (that of Amsterdam) on the grounds that a) it is of earlier date (1665-8) and thus nearer to the date of composition; while the Amsterdam copy goes back to a manuscript of about the same period, it appears in itself to date only from about 1719, and b) apart from orthographic features attributable to the scribe it appears to represent more closely the text as composed by the poet, whereas the other manuscript shows signs of editorial intervention. This is seen in the conversion of lines to decasyllabics by the addition of words (ll.21-2 and 336), the omission of some lines (ll.7-8,419-20,423-4) and divergences such as 'dize a Mosseh' for 'dice Mosseh' (l.215). Although

these may go back to the manuscript which the calligrapher, David Carvalho, was working from they would appear to be the kind of deviation which can be attributed to one who was not thoroughly familiar with the language or Spanish prosody and who was seeking to make sense of the text or even improve upon it.

On the other hand, the Amsterdam manuscript is substantially the same as that of the Bodleian. As such it is frequently helpful in throwing light on obscure passages or confirming what seems to be the most likely reading of the text. Thus, where there is good reason for doubting the accuracy of the Bodleian manuscript, the Amsterdam version has been given; for example, 'loxica' for 'huga' (sic) (1.43), 'luz intelectiva' for 'luziente lestiva' (1.99) and 'confieras' (1.55) where the subject is singular ('tú', 1.51). In other cases, where the Amsterdam copy gives a different but no more valid rendering, the alternatives are simply noted in the footnotes to the text (for example, 1.1, 'leones' for 'dragones'). No reference is made to the Amsterdam version where it is clearly wrong, as for example in its form 'ebterno' for 'abeterno' (1.86). Indeed it is not intended to give a complete textual picture of the Amsterdam manuscript, only to present as much of it as is useful in the establishment of the Bodleian manuscript and thereby of the original text.

As concerns the copy published by Roth, where this follows the other two copies i.e. lines 55-262, with the omission of lines 135-8, 179-82, and 199-203, it has been used to support the reading of either the Bodleian or Amsterdam text, and more particularly the latter. However, the Livorno text as we have it (in Roth's transcription, see Chapter Three, pp. 50-51 and note 21) is so unreliable and often unintelligible that it has only been called into service where it is clear and makes sense and where it tips the scales further in favour of one of the other versions. That is to say that it is only used to confirm or support but not to prove a point



on its own. Examples are: 'dicen' which tends to support 'dices' (1.115) in the face of Amsterdam's 'dando' and 'incomunicable' which coincides with Amsterdam's reading (cf. 'comunicable', 1.83). Occasionally, no change has been made to the Bodleian text even where the other two agree: such decisions will be explained in the notes which follow the text (p.360 ff, below).

ii) Linguistic features of the text.

Lusisms: Certain orthographic features of the Bodleian manuscript suggest that the copyist was of Portuguese origin or that he was in the habit of writing Portuguese in preference to Spanish. It was standard practice among Sephardi Jews in Amsterdam, whatever their country of origin, to use Spanish for liturgical purposes and Portuguese in other spheres, such as theological treatises or sermons. At the same time, secular drama and poetry in Spanish thrived in Amsterdam, with literary salons or academias patronized by the leading writers (particularly in the latter part of the seventeenth century in the period of Miguel de Barrios) as was the case in Spain itself (see C.Roth, A History of the Marranos, New York, 3rd ed. 1958, Chapter XIII). Therefore, it is hard to believe that an immigrant from Spain would be so inclined by the secular context of this particular piece of writing, as to introduce Portuguese orthography into his copy of a poem originally composed in Castilian. It is more likely that the scribe was of Portuguese origin and that this would account for it.

One may also discount the poet himself as the source of these features. Contrary to earlier suggestions by biographers as to his Portuguese origins, (see Chapter 1, p.13 ) Antonio Enríquez Gómez, was of Spanish origin and upbringing, and spoke and wrote perfect Castilian. Further, one might expect to find other examples elsewhere in his work surviving in the passage from manuscript to print, but one does not, except for the seseo common to Portugal and southern Spain.

The features concerned are the orthographic substitution of : 'nh' for 'ñ' (e.g. 'enganho', 1.27), throughout with the exception of 'pequeño' (1.488); 'lh' for 'll' in two cases, 'alho' (1.27) and 'lhamara' (1.465) though elsewhere 'll' occurs: and the individual forms 'hun' for 'un' (11.213 and 350), 'em' for 'en' (title and 1.444), 'tiviera' for 'tuviera' (1.351), 'gardar' for 'guardar' (1.129) 'cumprimiento' for 'cumplimiento' (1.136) and 'manifestos' for 'manifiestos' (1.150)

Other features: the following orthographic substitutions are encountered, which may be attributable to either scribe or poet.

a) gu/g before 'e' and 'i' - these two forms are used interchangeably, as in the case of 'inguenio' (1.210) and 'finguido' (11.431 and 440) for 'ingenio' and 'fingido' respectively, as compared with 'gerra' for 'guerra' (1.410). There is a similar confusion of hard and soft consonants apparent in the case of 'verduxos' (1.311) for 'verdugos'. This feature may spring from Enríquez Gómez, since one finds for example, 'lisonga' for 'lisonja' in the Política angélica (part II, Révah, ed.p.145) and the converse 'estingiendo' for 'estinguendo' (S.N.VIII.36.iv)

b) i/e (unstressed) - these vowels are frequently confused, for example, 'enfinito' for 'infinito' (1.87) and 'dizierto' for 'desierto' (1.216). On the one hand, the same observation can be made of Enríquez Gómez's other works (see below, with reference to Sansón Nazareno). On the other, most of his usual substitutions are of 'i' for 'e', while in the Romance the converse is the case. This suggests that it is not the poet who is responsible for the majority of the examples here.

c) u/o final - the form 'espirito' as it occurs in line 378 is the normal Portuguese equivalent of the Castilian 'espíritu'; it would thus appear to fit in with the suggested Portuguese origins of the copyist. On the other hand, the forms 'tribo' and 'impito' appear in Sansón Nazareno (1.7.vi and vii.48.ii respectively). This feature may therefore originate



with the poet.

d) r/rr - these are used interchangeably, for example, 'horible' for 'horrible' (1.531) and 'fierro' for 'fiero' (1.32). There are other cases of the superfluous doubling of letters, such as 'commentandole' (1.74), 'battallas' (1.424) and 'fee'(passim). The copyist or the poet may equally be responsible for these.

e) s/ss/c/z - no distinction appears to be made between these, as can be seen from the following examples: 'versso'(1.84), 'carsel'(1.15), 'siençia'(1.43), 'dezyguals'(1.12). (Note also 'esperansaz', 1.455). Single 's' also replaces 'sc' in 'resusito' (1.13). All these forms would seem to represent the phoneme /s/ and could derive from the Portuguese background of the scribe. However, the same seseo can be seen elsewhere in the work of Enríquez Gómez, as for example in the forms 'jugando' and 'zañudo' for 'juzgando' and 'sañudo' respectively (S.N.VIII.10.iii and IX.3.v)

It may be observed - to return for a moment to the question of the linguistic origin of the copyist of the Bodleian manuscript - that the features elaborated here recall the kind of errors which might be made by a Ladino (Judaean-Spanish) speaker accustomed to writing in Hebrew script and unsure as to the correct transcription of Hebrew into Latin characters. Waw, generally unpointed, could represent either 'o' or 'u'; similarly, unpointed yod could represent either 'i' or 'e'; and the absence of double letters in Hebrew script might account for uncertainty regarding 'r' and 'rr', 's' and 'ss'. While there may be some superficial force in this argument, it does not appear on closer examination to be very probable. Firstly, in every case it is possible with some degree of conviction to ascribe all the features concerned to either the poet or the suggested Portuguese scribe. Secondly, none of the features can be classed among those linguistic features which are specific to Ladino, as opposed to common to 'both Spanish and Latin-American dialects and patois - even as spoken today - and in medieval

texts' to quote from the entry by Moshe Lazar in the Encyclopaedia Judaica, (Jerusalem, 1971, vol.10, col.1343 ff) in which he summarizes the main characteristics of Ladino. Lastly, Ladino and the question of Hebrew script is associated with the Jewish communities of the Eastern Mediterranean and not with the Castilian-speaking community of Amsterdam. Thus in principle there seems little reason to associate a poem in Castilian with a copyist of Ladino background and the presence of the other arguments we have mentioned makes it unnecessary that we should do so in practice.

As concerns the editing of the present text, while at least some of the features discussed above may be attributable to the author of the poem, the presence of at least one copyist in the process which has produced this manuscript - reinforcing certain elements and introducing others of his own - creates a situation in which it is difficult to be certain as to who (scribe or poet) is responsible for each individual example. (One may contrast this with the situation presented by a holograph manuscript.) Consequently, in the text given below, these features have been amended and the change noted at the foot of the page, with the exception of the last (e) whose incidence is too high for each example to be noted conveniently. With regard to b) (i/e), 'inviados' (1.433) has been kept in the text, as it is an attested seventeenth century form, 'Mesmo' (11.100 and 176) has also been maintained to fit in with the assonance of the poem. At the same time, 'mismo' where it occurs at the end of the assonanted line has been altered to 'mesmo' with the same end in view (11.16, 62, 326, 392). Lastly, the Lusisms mentioned earlier (p.327) have been amended in the text without note as all examples have been given in their section.

Other points regarding the editing of the manuscript are as follows:

a) The substitutions b/v, (e.g. 'bulgo', 131), v/u (e.g. 'escriuiendo' 1.17), x/j/g ('e' or 'i') (e.g. 'dixo', 1.550; 'escojidos', 1.471), y/i (e.g. 'sy' passim)



and the omission of initial and medial 'h' (e.g. 'a' for 'ha', 1.65; 'reuze' for 'rehuse', 1.82) are not regarded as linguistically significant and are therefore amended in the text without further note. This also applies to the numerous examples of 'ph' for 'f' and 'qu' for 'cu'.

b) 'Culto' reduction of consonantal groups has been maintained where it occurs, as in 'preceto' (1.34), 'coluna' (1.276 etc.), as well as other contracted forms such as 'dalla' for 'darla' (1.139), 'deste' (1.334) and 'oistes' for 'oisteis' (1.144) and the metathesis 'prefecto' for 'perfecto' (1.336). In addition archaistic forms such as 'dende' (1.523) and 'ansí' (1.251 and 318) have been left unaltered.

c) Proper nouns from the Bible have been preserved in the form in which they appear in the original (excepting minor adjustments in conformity with any of the above principles), that is to say in either the Greek or Hebrew form. The first is the more usual in Spanish (e.g. 'Elías' etc.), but the second, while possibly due to the copyist (whose background and environment are clearly Jewish), may equally arise from the deliberate intent of the poet to lend a Jewish feeling to his poem. An example of this has already been seen in Sansón Nazareno (Book VII) with 'sabaot', 'Eloín' and 'sofar' (see Chapter 4, p. 148-50). This would seem true of 'Adonay' (1.29), 'Mosseh' (1.215) and possibly 'Jaacob' (1.547), though 'Jacob' appears elsewhere (1.324 and 537) (note also 'Jerusalim', 1547). He may not have known the Hebrew forms of Isaiah and Elijah - Yeshayahu and Eliyahu respectively - or alternatively, regarded them as linguistic barbarisms which he felt unsuitable, despite his Jewish aim, for inclusion in his work. Hence, 'Isafas' ('esayas', 1.219 also the hybrid 'Yesayas', 1.131), 'Elías' (1.286) and 'Sansón' (1.275, cf. Amsterdam's 'Sinson' from Hebrew Shimson). Other names, such as David, Daniel and Israel are virtually alike in both Hebrew and non-Hebrew forms.

d) Grammatical errors of a minor nature have been amended as in the

case of 'pocos' to 'poco' (1.254). Otherwise the grammar of the text is as found, to the extent of leaving untouched such oddities as the double gerund 'ignorando siendo' (1.140) and the contracted structure 'que antes de morir tuvieron' 1.258, i.e. 'que antes cuando tuvieron de morir').

Both these examples are supported by the Amsterdam manuscript and first by the Livorno transcript as well. It seems justifiable to leave the plural verb 'alumbran' (1.356) although the subject is singular ('el oro de su cabellos', 1.354), since it is common for the presence of a plural noun in close proximity to the verb (in this case, not only 'cabellos' but 'los rayos', 1.355) to attract the latter into the plural too. (This again is supported by the Amsterdam manuscript) On the other hand, 'guardan' (1.122) occurs in different circumstances and appears to be derived from a misinterpretation of 'el orden del universo' (1.120) as a second subject instead of the parenthetical phrase which it is. This time Amsterdam does not support the original reading and it has been amended (to 'guarda').

e) Personal pronouns 'le' and 'lo' (direct object) are used interchangeably as is common in the period and no alteration has been made in the text. Hence, for example, 'le' remains for 'lo' in 'quitarle' (1.65).

f) Punctuation and capitalization have been made to conform to modern practice. Capitals are used for titles referring to God, for example, 'el Nombre' (1.29), 'Autor' (1.30) etc.

g) Abbreviations have been resolved and are indicated by underlining, as in 'por' for 'p' (Title).

h) The Amsterdam and Livorno copies of the poem are designated in the footnotes to the text as Amst. and R/Liv. respectively. The 'R' of the latter is a recognition that it is known only through Roth's published version.



Romance al Divín Mártir, Judá Creyente,  
martirizado en Valladolid por la Inquisición.

- Entre los fieros dragones  
de aquel Tribunal soberbio,  
cuya oliva fue la espada  
sin arca del testamento,  
5 el mártir más peregrino,  
el confesor más entero,  
el farol más encendido,  
el más divino intelecto  
que vio el sol, que tuvo el mundo,  
10 soldado del tercio viejo  
de Sinai, padeció tantos  
y desiguales tormentos,  
que resucitó el valor  
de los fuertes Macabeos.  
15 Circunoidóse en la carcel  
cual otro Abraham, él mismo  
escribiendo con su sangre  
el carácter más supremo.  
Salió al suplicio domando  
20 sofísticos argumentos,  
hidras sin alma que viven  
de la vanidad del viento.

Title: Valladolid: valle dolosid

1. dragones: Amst. leones  
2. aquel: aque  
4. del: de: Amst. del  
5. mártir: marte; Amst. martir  
6. entero: yntero: Amst. eterno. 7-8. Amst. omits these lines  
10. tercio: tresio; Amst. tersio. 15. circuncidóse: sircunsidiose  
18. carácter: caracte  
21-22. Amst. hidras sin alma cameleones / q' biuen de la banedad del viento

Como oveja fue llevado,,  
 según el sagrado texto,  
 25 al teatro riguroso  
 de los abismos del fuego.

No se halló engaño en su boca,  
 pues iba a voces diciendo:  
 ¡Viva el Nombre de Adonay,  
 30 sacro Autor del universo!

El fiero vulgo atrevido,  
 como torpe, horrible y fiero,  
 porque no se reducía  
 a los preceptos de Venus,  
 35 balas de ira le arrojaba,  
 articulando este pueblo,  
 si no la vida, el agravio,  
 si no la muerte, el incendio.

Llegó al tálamo de Bel,  
 40 en cuyo atrevido lecho  
 se desposaron los justos  
 con la Ley y los preceptos.

Allí la lógica ciencia  
 de un teólogo moderno,  
 45 la metafísica simple,  
 quiso darle por veneno.

- 32. fiero: fierro
- 33. porque: pues porque; Amst. omits 'pues'
- 34. de Venus: devenus
- 35. arrojaba: arojan; Amst. arojaua
- 39. de Bel: debel; Amst. de Bahal
- 41. justos: justo
- 43. lógica: huga (sic); Amst. loxica
- 46. por veneno: Amst. por bueno.



- ¡O, tu'- dice el varón justo -  
 que con inorante celo  
 reducir quieres al sol  
 50 en un círculo pequeño!  
 ¡O, tú, sabio de Babel,  
 que, sin tener fundamento  
 tu babilónico estudio,  
 guerra publicas al cielo!  
 55 si me confieras que Dios  
 a su peregrino pueblo  
 dio Ley, ¿ para qué me dices  
 que la deje torbe y necio?  
 Si la dio para salvarme,  
 60 ¿qué salvación tener puedo  
 en la que me da tu gracia  
 fabricada por ti mismo?  
 Si Dios dio ley a Israel  
 con un carácter eterno,  
 65 ¿ cómo ha de poder quitarle  
 el sacrilegio idumeo?  
 Si no tiene salvación  
 esta ley, ¿de qué provecho  
 fue a Israel, pues nada vale  
 70 la que está sin fundamento?

48. inorante: ynnorante  
 54. guerra: guera  
 55. confieras: confesais; Amst. confieras  
 57. para qué me dices: Amst. por que me dezis  
 65. quitarle: Amst. quitarla.  
 66. sacrilegio: sacrileguio; Amst. sacrilego

Si él dice: Ley sempiterna  
 os di, ¿qué delirio nuevo  
 término puso a su mano  
 comentándole lo eterno?

75 Si es perfecta, como dice  
 el músico más supremo  
 ¿qué mayores perfecciones  
 hallar en otra podemos?

Si en el monte de Sinai  
 80 se oyeron voces del cielo,  
 ¿quién será tan atrevido,  
 que le rehuse los ecos?

Deidad incommunicable,  
 como nos declara el verso,  
 85 no tiene fin ni principio  
 siendo su Nombre abeterno.

Lo infinito de la causa  
 no comunica al efecto  
 aquella unidad sagrada  
 90 del primer entendimiento.

Si la Ley es la palabra,  
 ésa venera su pueblo,  
 y, siendo infinito Dios,  
 a su palabra me atengo.

71. sempiterna: sepiterna

72. delirio: dilirio

74. comentándole: commentandole

82. rehuse: Amst. dezaze i.e. dejase

83. incommunicable: comunicable; Amst. incommunicable; R/Liv. as Amst.

85. principio: prencipio

87. infinito: enfinito



95. Si esta unidad increada  
no tiene ningún defecto,  
la Ley, palabra de Dios,  
no lo tendrá en ningún tiempo.

Si esta luz intelectual  
100 alumbra sol de sí mismo,  
¿qué luminaria se opone  
a turbarle los reflejos?

Si Dios y el hombre firmaron  
este sacro testamento  
105 y se nos da por escrito  
¿cómo ha de haber otro nuevo?

No guardarle puede el hombre  
en lo que toca al concierto;  
pero, de parte de Dios,  
110 siempre vive el firmamento.

Los que siguen otro rumbo,  
como alteran los preceptos,  
como sienten mal de Dios,  
luchan con los elementos.

115 Si dices: La Ley fue santa,  
tú te engañas poco cuerdo;  
pues, lo que una vez fue santo  
no puede dejar de serlo.

98. lo:la: Amst.la  
99. luz intelectual: luziente lestiva; Amst. lus  
Intellectiua; cf. R/Liv. Ley inteligitiva  
100. sol: Amst. al sol  
105. se: Amst. si; cf. R/Liv. si lo dio  
107. guardarle; Amst. guardarla (cf. 1.65)  
111. otro rumbo: a otro rumbo; Amst. omits 'a'  
115. dices: Amst. dando (la Ley...); R/Liv. dicen

La ley del mundo mayor,  
 120 el orden del universo,  
 con la palabra de Dios  
 guarda la Ley que le dieron.

Pues si el orden natural  
 observaron tierra y cielo  
 125 sin variar la palabra  
 del mandamiento primero ,  
 ¿por qué este mundo menor,  
 a la imagen de Dios hecho,  
 no ha de guardar la Ley santa  
 130 que escribió Dios con su dedo?

Su Nombre, dice Isaías,  
 es uno; pues si el decreto  
 de la unidad es palabra,  
 una es la Ley por derecho.  
 135 Si hay otra, ya la palabra  
 faltó con el cumplimiento;  
 y ley que deroga el culto  
 hace mudable a su Dueño.

Dalla con limitación  
 140 fuera macular lo regio,  
 ignorando siendo Dios  
 la revelación del tiempo.

122. guarda: guardan; Amst. guarda  
 124. cielo: Amst. cielos  
 129. guardar: gardar  
 131. Isaías: yesayas  
 132. si: Amst. omits  
 137. deroga: Amst. deroca  
 141. ignorando siendo (sic): Amst. and R/Liv.  
 likewise.  
 142. revelación: Amst. rebulusion



Decir Dios Ley para siempre  
oíste desde los cielos;  
145 y no guardar su palabra  
era engañar a su pueblo.

Pues si en Dios no puede haber  
este insolente argumento,  
¿por qué, bárbaro, lo sigues  
150 con errores manifiestos?

La unidad siendo distinta  
no es unidad en hebreo,  
y Ley dividida en dos  
no tiene seguro asiento.

155 Quererme tú reducir  
a tres distintos sujetos,  
multiplicando deidades  
con sus festivos desvelos,  
es decirme que la Causa  
160 se iguala con los efectos,  
y lo propio es para mí  
dividirla en tres que en ciento.

Ridículamente osado,  
retóricamente necio,  
165 te opones a quien te dice:  
Yo, el primero, yo, el postrero.

149. lo sigues: Amst. le sigues  
152. unidad: unidas; Amst. unidad  
153. dos: Amst. Dios  
158. sus festivos: Amst. sufísticos  
163. ridículamente: rediculamente  
166. yo, el postrero : Amst. y io ...

Si son tres dioses en uno  
 los profetas se perdieron,  
 pues adoraron el uno  
 170 y los dos no conocieron.

Si distintos eran antes  
 y uno se adoró en el Templo,  
 errado anduvo aquel culto  
 en el primer mandamiento.

175 Si cuando adoras al uno  
 son todos tres aquel mismo,  
 los dos que miras distintos  
 no son de ningún provecho.

Dios es uno, y su palabra,  
 180 su espíritu y Nombre eterno  
 en una esencia infinita  
 sin distinción la creemos.

Para conocer la fe,  
 un solo Dios verdadero  
 185 no tiene necesidad  
 de materiales sujetos.

No ver a Dios y creerlo  
 es una fe con misterio,  
 sin rozarse con lo humano  
 190 nuestro divino intelecto.

171. distintos: destintos  
 184. un: uno; Amst. de un  
 188. fe: fee (et passim)  
 189. rozarse: Amst. mesclarse



De las tres adoraciones,  
 dulía y perdulía, podemos,  
 no olvidando la latría,  
 sacar nuestros argumentos;

195 Si la fe consta de impulso  
 ¿qué padrino es el madero  
 para conciliar una alma  
 con su Criador en el cielo?

Fe con mezcla material  
 200 es imán que halaga el hierro,  
 y fe con alma de piedra  
 cadáver fue de su dueño.

La fe santa, la fe pura  
 es la que observa el hebreo,  
 205 pues conoce un solo Dios  
 por luz del entendimiento.

Las demás son vanidades  
 de los sabios destos tiempos,  
 y es locura a lo divino,  
 210 intervalos del ingenio.

Fe que aplica los oídos  
 a perdonar con defectos  
 por la autoridad de un hombre,  
 fe puede ser de los necios.

194. nuestros: vuestros; Amst. nuestros; R/Liv. as Amst.  
 209. y es: omitted; Amst. y es  
 210. intervalos: intervalios:  
 del: de; Amst. del  
 ingenio: inguenio  
 211. aplica los oídos: aplaca los odios; Amst. aplica  
 los oídos; R/Liv. aplican los oídos  
 213. por: Amst. con.

215 Sólo Dios, dice Mosseh,  
os perdonó en el desierto,  
castigando alguna parte  
del pecado del becerro.

Sólo Dios, dice Isaias,  
220 tiene el meromixto imperio  
en el hombre, y sólo Dios  
puede perdonar defectos.

El sólo, dice David,  
pudo redimir su pueblo;  
225 luego redención con sangre  
más es muerte que remedio.

Si Dios no tiene poder  
sin atropellar un bueno  
para redimir al mundo,  
230 la vida estuvo en el muerto.

No está de parte de Dios,  
según vuestro sentimiento,  
aquel poder soberano  
que tiene desde abeterno.

235 Pues si un Dios con condiciones  
gobierna vuestro intelecto,  
claramente se conoce  
que no es Dios ni puede serlo.

215. dice Mosseh: Amst. dize a Mosseh

216. desierto: dizierto

219. dice Isaias: Amst. dize a Isaias

224. pudo: Amst. puede: R/Liv. as Amst  
redimir: redemir (also l.229)

225. redención: Amst. redemir

229. al; Amst.el

232. vuestro: Amst. nuestro; R/Liv. as Amst.



¿Qué necesidad tenía  
 240 el Legislador excelso  
 de ver sangre derramada  
 para perdonar los pueblos?

Si es inocente la sangre,  
 derramarla no es bien hecho;  
 245 si es culpada, su delito  
 puede pagar, no el ajeno.

Comió Adam una manzana,  
 y para salvar su yerro,  
 ¿queréis vosotros formar  
 250 quien le beba este veneno?

Y cuando esto fuera así,  
 ¿qué redención le daremos  
 al mundo, pues hoy los hombres  
 se condenan poco cuerdos?

255 ¿Qué ha redimido esta sangre,  
 si los malos y los buenos  
 están en peor estado  
 que antes de morir tuvieron?

Si la Ley siendo guardada  
 260 tiene salvación de precio,  
 ¿qué precio tiene la sangre  
 comparada a los preceptos?

240. excelso: excelso

241. derramada: deramada

250. quien le beba: que biba; Amst. quien le beua

254. poco: pocos

258. tuvieron: sic; Amst. likewise.

Ultimamente la Ley  
 que tengo dentro en mi pecho  
 265 es de Dios, y su palabra  
 no es de material alimento.

Del tribunal de Antioco  
 salgo a morir en el fuego  
 por el Nombre del Señor,  
 270 a quien mi alma encomiendo.

Peregrino en Israel  
 seré yo por nacimiento,  
 despreciando por la Ley  
 la sangre de mis aguelos.  
 275 Cual otro Sansón, asido  
 de la colunas del templo,  
 he de morir por vivir,  
 aunque pese al filisteo.

En el horno de Babel,  
 280 uno de los tres mancebos  
 seré, alabando la Causa  
 por quien vivo y por quien muero.

Esa llama abrasadora  
 que ha de devorar mi cuerpo  
 285 será mi carro triunfal,  
 pues es de Elías mi celo.

275. Sansón: Sansom: Amst. Sinson  
 284. ha de devorar: Amst. a de borar.



La vida negando a Dios  
 ni la busco ni la quiero;  
 los bienes sin la Ley santa  
 290 ni los admito ni precio.

Lo que está en el corazón  
 con la boca lo sustento,  
 y porque le conste al mundo,  
 ¡naciones, yo soy hebreo!

295 ¡Judío soy, castellanos!  
 La Ley de Mosseh confieso  
 dada en el monte de Sinai  
 por el Autor de los cielos.

¡Ea, antiocos profanos,  
 300 executad el decreto  
 de la vil Inquisición,  
 tribunal de los infiernos!

No quiero misericordia;  
 que si con ella le niego  
 305 a Dios la Ley que me ha dado,  
 su gracia divina pierdo.

¡Muera yo sin profanar  
 su santo Nombre supremo!  
 ¡Sea confesora el alma  
 310 si ha de ser mártir el cuerpo!

289. sin: sera; Amst. sin

292. lo: Amst. omits

293. le: omitted: Amst. le

297. en el monte de Sinai: en el monte Sinay; Amst. en monte de Sinay

304. le: la; Amst. le

309. confesora: Amst. confesor.

Esto dijo, y los verdugos,  
atándole en el madero,  
para arder el sacrificio  
le echaron un Mongibelo.

315 Empezó a crujir la carne  
y, rechinando los huesos,  
viva la voz en el alma,  
ansí difo el Macabeo:

- Divino Señor, que asistes  
320 en el Trono en el excelso  
Tribunal que vio Isaías  
de los serafines bellos;

Dios de Abraham, Dios de Isaac,  
Dios de Jacob, Rey eterno,  
325 cuyo Nombre incircunscrito  
sólo consta de si mismo;

Causa de todas las causas,  
Criador de tierra y cielo,  
sin principio y sin fin,  
330 y un solo Dios verdadero;

esta vida que me distes  
por sacrificio te ofrezco,  
y un corazón abrasado  
en las aras deste incendio;

335 como nos dice David,  
es sacrificio perfecto.

311.. verdugos: verduxos

313. sacrificio: sacreficio (also 11.332 & 336)

314. echaron: Amst. hizieron. 317. alma: Amst. agua

320. el: Amst. tu

321. Tribunal: Trebunal

323. Isaac: Amst. Jacob. 324. Jacob: Amst. Ishac

325. incircunscrito: insircunpscrito

328. cielo: Amst. Cielos. 330. un: uno

332. te: Amst. os. 336. es: Amst. el



Que muero por tu Ley, dicen,  
 mas no. entienden el conceto,  
 que si muero por quien vivo,  
 340 ya vivo de lo que muero.

Amante soy de tu Ley  
 y de tal suerte la celo,  
 que muero por adorarla:  
 ¡mira, Señor, si la quiero!

345 Estos martirios que paso,  
 estas penas que padezco,  
 como amante las acmito,  
 como esposo las venero.

Vida me ofrecen sin ella,  
 350 ¡cómo si un amante hebreo  
 tuviera sin ella vida,  
 pues todo sin ella es muerte!

Por vieja la repudiaron,  
 ¡ y el oro de sus cabellos  
 355 más que los rayos del sol  
 alumbran el universo!

Sus ojos son de paloma,  
 azules pero no negros,  
 y de dos blancos mellizos  
 360 tiene sus hermosos pechos.

337. Ley: Amst. adds 'santa', omits 'dicen' which is misplaced  
 at end of l. 336

339. que: Amst. mas

351. tuviera: tiviera

356. alumbran (sic); Amst. likewise

Sus palabras son divinas  
y sentencias sus conceptos;  
y con su sabiduría  
tuvo ser el ministerio.

365 Por adorarla me matan,  
pero, yo seré en el fuego  
el ave simple que sabe  
morir y vivir a un tiempo.

Como ésta es de Dios esposa,  
370 poco importa que esté muerto  
el cuerpo, siendo imortal  
el alma que a Dios ofrezco.

Desta materia caduca  
en el mundo el venidero  
375 veré al Señor, pues el polvo  
serafín es con aliento.

Vivo entre el fuego voraz,  
el espíritu que tengo  
en el crisol de la carne  
380 purificará su celo.

Divinamente inspirado,  
te digo, pueblo soberbio,  
a quien amenaza a rayos  
el airado Dios del cielo,

362. sentencias sus conceptos: sus sentencias son conceptos;  
Amst. sentencias sus conceptos  
364. ministerio: Amst. emisfero. 366. seré: sera  
369. ésta es: esta; Amst. este  
370. poco: pero que; Amst. poco  
374. el venidero: Amst. venidero  
377. entre: Amst. en. 378. espíritu: espirito  
381. divinamente: devinamente  
inspirado: Amst. inperando



385      que ya del Libro sagrado,  
 intelectivo cuaderno,  
 la divina profecía  
 viene apresurando el tiempo.

          ! Ay de ti! pueblo sin Dios,  
 390      aquél que idolatras ciego  
 en los páramos del mundo,  
 que te amenaza Dios mismo!

          La América por el norte  
 en fin el año noveno  
 395      alzará pendón, talando  
 con ciento y cuarenta lenos  
 los mares del medio día;  
 descubriendo un varón cuerdo  
 tres islas en trece días,  
 400      castigos de muchos reinos.

          Antes de cuarenta y nueve  
 habrá guerra en un consejo  
 y no pocos alborotos  
 en el estado plebeyo.

405      Los que viven en el agua  
 con los sitas y agarenos,  
 si no se confederaren,  
 tendrán simulado feudo.

390. idolatras: Amst. ydolatra  
 394. al: Amst. el  
 399. talando: Amst. taxando  
 399. trece: tres: Amst. treze  
 400. castigos de: Amst. castigaran  
 403. alborotos: albortos  
 406. los: Amst. omits.  
 408. feudo: Amst. fuero.

Tres lustros y cuatro días  
 410 tendrán guerra dos imperios,  
 trepando los orientales  
 al olímpico elemento.

¡Ay del mundo, cuando lleguen  
 sesenta y seis años ciertos,  
 415 adonde será el hambre  
 el castigo más pequeño!

Veránse en setenta y cinco  
 salidas a un mismo tiempo  
 por las bocas de dos hombres  
 420 dos leyes con ritos nuevos.

Morirán por defenderlos  
 un millón y cuatro cientos  
 bárbaros en desiguales  
 batallas de sangre y fuego.

425 Cerca de setenta y seis  
 temblarán catorce templos  
 y caerán los edificios  
 con los ídolos al centro.

Albobotarán el mundo  
 430 dos hipócritas mancebos  
 y con fingidos milagros  
 harán creer a los necios

410. guerra: gerra      414. sesenta: setenta: Amst. setenta

415-416. Amst. el contagio y la ambre / veranse en senos pequenos

415. el hambre: hambre; Amst.: la hambre

417-22. Amst. Salidos sesenta y cinco/ las bocas a un mismo tiempo, /  
 por delitos morirán,/ un millon y quatrocientos (11.419-420 omitted)

422. millón: million

423-4. Amst. omits      423. en: yn

424. batallas: battallas      sangre: sanre

425. setenta: Amst. sesenta      426. edificios: edefisios

427. edificios: edefisios

431. fingidos: finguidos



que son de Dios enviados  
 para convertir los pueblos;  
 435 pero sus mismos amigos,  
 antes que pase ano y medio,  
 en la plaza de Babel  
 manifestarán sus yerros  
 y morirán publicando  
 440 sus fingidos fundamentos.

Siete tiempos y tres años  
 tendrá Nembrot el imperio,  
 y la basta idolatría,  
 dividida en treinta reinos,  
 445 diluvios de sangre humana  
 sembrarán por los desiertos.  
 La cuarta bestia terrible  
 bramará desde su asiento,  
 y al otavo mes del año,  
 450 cuando un cometa ligero  
 saliere del aquilón,  
 temblarán todos los pueblos.  
 Dividida en cuatro partes,  
 la horrible fiera en el viento  
 455 sembrará sus esperanzas  
 y morirá sin remedio.

440. fingidos: fenguidos

444. dividida: devidida

446. sembrarán: sic; Amst. likewise (influence of 'reinos')  
 desiertos: diziertos

447. terrible: terible

449. al: Amst. el

El verso de Daniel  
 resplandecerá ligero  
 y una gente perseguida  
 460 gozará de sus reflejos.  
 Tubal, dividido en dos  
 principes de nacimiento  
 si no turbado, atrevido,  
 si no villano, plebeyo,  
 465 llamará los peregrinos,  
 y por fin del año sexto,  
 revueltas las religiones  
 de los malos y los buenos,  
 se conocerán los hombres  
 470 que tuvieron parentesco  
 con los tribus escogidos,  
 fuera de los nueve y medio.  
 Dividiránse el oriente  
 naturales y extranjeros,  
 475 y por fin de siete y tres,  
 quedarán sin fundamento  
 la casa de Babilonia  
 y el Tribunal del Secreto.  
 El águila con la luna,  
 480 el león con el cordero,

461. dos: Amst. diez  
 462. principes: Amst. prinsepe  
 464. plebeyo: pebleo  
 465. llamará: Amst. llamaran  
 467. religiones: religuiones  
 470. tuvieron: Amst. tubieren  
 471. los tribus (sic): always masc. in the works of Enríquez Gómez  
 473. dividiránse: diuidirase; Amst. diuidiranse  
 el: Amst. al



con el elefante, el gallo  
 y otros ocultos misterios  
 a los tres años cabales  
 de los dos primeros tiempos  
 485 volverán a revolverse  
 alborotando soberbios  
 todo el ámbito del mundo.  
 Mas los príncipes pequeños  
 que administraren justicia  
 490 se librarán del incendio.  
 Un rey tendrá su corona,  
 tres provincias serán reino,  
 y en el año de noventa,  
 saldrá a luz un nuevo imperio,  
 495 con los términos indianos,  
 no visto ni descubierto.  
 Y, contando la palabra  
 'semana' por jubileo,  
 que el profeta Daniel  
 500 profetizó con secreto,  
 si no cumplidas, escritas  
 en el 'descanso seteno',  
 las setenta llegarán  
 cuando se viere en el cielo

485. revolverse: Amst. revelarse  
 487. ámbito: abito; Amst. ambito  
 491. un: Amst. el  
 492. reino: Amst. Reinos  
 504. viere (sic): Amst. likewise.

505        siete cometas errantes  
           que, cual relámpago o trueno,  
           se desharán en tres horas,  
           echando llamas de fuego.

          Veráse un monstruo en el Asia  
 510        en figura de hombre fiero,  
           siendo por tres años solos  
           el oráculo indigesto

          de los bárbaros gentiles;  
           y sus ritos y preceptos,  
 515        ley nueva de aquellos siglos,  
           obedecerán diez pueblos.

          El Nilo sudará sangre,  
           y en medio del Mar Bermejo,  
           se verán dos querubines  
 520        en forma de dos mancebos,  
           de la gente repelida  
           soberanos mensajeros.

          Veránse lustres armados  
           por los páramos del viento  
 525        y en todas las cuatro partes  
           del territorio pequeño.

507. se desharán: Amst. se mostraran  
 509. veráse: Amst. veras  
 510. fiero: fierro; Amst. siego  
 518. del: de  
 521. repelida: repelada; Amst. repudiada  
 523. lustres armados: Amst. fuertes armadas



No habrá paz en todo el mundo,  
 y entre la guerra el hebreo  
 llamará, siendo la angustia  
 530 en los mortales del suelo  
 la mayor, la más horrible  
 que los humanos padecieron  
 desde que el Autor divino  
 crió todo el universo.

535 Por la parte del oriente,  
 amanecerá un Lucero,  
 nueva Estrella de Jacob,  
 Príncipe de Paz eterno.

Con la vara de su boca  
 540 domará los idumeos,  
 y en la gran Jerusalaim  
 tendrá su divino asiento.

Saldrá de allí la palabra,  
 y de Sion el concepto;  
 545 y la Ley y el Nombre santo  
 temerán todos los pueblos.

En Jaacob serán benditas  
 las gentes, y en este tiempo  
 morirá la idolatría.

550. Esto dijo y murió luego.

Finis.

528. guerra: gerra  
 529. llamará : Amst. clamara. siendo: Amst. viendo  
 530. mortales: mortales  
 531. la más horrible: las horrible; Amst. la mas orible  
 534. universo: Amst. Cielo  
 536. amanecerá: amenasara. 538. Príncipe: preensepe  
 541. Jerusalaim: Amst. Jerusalem 543. allí: Amst. ay  
 547. Jaacob: Jaaob. 548. este tiempo: Amst. estos tiempos  
 547-50. MS places 'las gentes' (l.548) at end of l.547 and distributes other  
 lines as follows: 'y en este tiempo/morira la ydolatria,/Esto dixo y/  
 murio luego - '

Notes to texts: 1) Romance al divín mártir.

(Numbers refer to lines)

10. cf. Pol.Ang.II (ed.Révah) p.152, where Jesuits are described as 'soldados del tercio viejo' i.e. adherents of ancient or higher standards of religious conduct.
14. An obvious analogy, developed below (l.299) with reference to the Inquisitors as 'Antiocos'; see Antiochus Epiphanes whose persecutions led to the Revolt of the Maccabees (168.B.C.E.)
16. 'en el primer año de su prision se serconsido y puzo por nombre Juda el Creiente', Mirezo letter, British Museum MS.Or.8698, fol.298<sup>r</sup>.
24. Isaiah 53.7: 'Como oveja, fue llevado al matadero; y como cordero delante de sus trasquiladores'
29. Amsterdam's 'A' for 'Adonay' follows usual practice in Jewish vernacular prayer-books and Bible; see Ferrara editions passim.
32. 'horrible y fiero': for the same combination of adjectives, see S.N. XIV.53.vi. All correlations of language between Romance and other of the poet's works are noted in Chapter Three, pp.59-60.
34. i.e. venal, base, materialistic etc. For the association by Enríquez of the Inquisition with the 'whore of Babylon' see Valdecasas' study of Las Academias morales (Seville, 1970, p.85 ff.)
39. 'Bel' i.e. Baal, the principal Canaanite god (see S.N.IX.49.iv, also). 'tálamo...lecho' cf. amatory image exploited l.341 ff. (this provides support for the idea of the unity of the poem as it stands).
42. 'precetos': the Ten Commandments, see discussion. Chapter Three, p. 79
43. 'lógica': MS.Bodleian's reading 'huga' is clear, possibly meaning 'fugaz' (substitution 'h' for 'f', 'z' omitted) but this would be pejorative and inappropriate to describe Lope's words which follow.
51. Lope addresses himself to the 'Enquisidor maior' (see rubric to R/Liv., quoted above, p.54 ) or possibly, with irony, to the crowd. In any case, the speech represents the statement of beliefs Lope was persuaded to write down, rather than his arguments with the 'sabios' sent to convince him of his errors .



55. This is the point at which MS.R/Liv begins to parallel our text; see above, p.98 , note 21.
65. 'le' is used for direct object 'lo' and refers to 'carácter' in line 64.
66. The Idumeans or Edomites were the traditional enemies of Israel; here synonymous with Babel etc. (see also 'babilónicos', 1.53).
76. i.e. David: Ps.19.7: 'La Ley de Iehoua, perfecta'
85. cf. verse four of the Jewish hymn Yigdal as given in Gênébrard's Chronologia Hebraeorum, p.65: 'Primus est & principium ipsius caret principio'.
91. 'la palabra' e.e. 'de Dios'.
98. Both Bod and Amst. MSS. read 'la', but the sense demands 'lo', referring back to 'defecto' (1.96).
101. Reference to Jesus, as a rival luminary or 'heavenly body' in relation to God as the 'sun'.
105. The sense is: 'and it is given to us in writing'. Amst.'s 'y si nos da...' would be better stylistically (cf.'si' 1.103) but the absence of direct object pronoun would be odd, while R/Liv's 'si lo dio', though perhaps the best, is not substantiated by the others.
115. 'but is no more' is implied.
- 119ff. An element of neo-Platonic cosmology is introduced: if the macrocosm obeys the One God, so should man, the microcosm.
120. This phrase is in apposition to 'La ley del mundo mayor' in line 119.
126. Exodus 20.2-3: 'Yo soy Iehova tu Dios, que te saqué de la tierra de Egypto, de casa de siervos, (3) No tendrás dioses ajenos de mí' (the Second Commandment is frequently assimilated to the First to reinforce the idea of the Oneness of God).
128. Genesis 1.27. 'Y crio Dios al hombre a su ymagen'.
131. Isaiah 45.5: 'Yo Iehova, y ninguno mas de yo', or Isaiah 42.8: 'Yo Iehoua. Este es mi nombre: y a otro no daré mi gloria, ni mi alabanza à esculturas.'
- 135-8 MS.R/Liv omits.

141. The unusual conjunction of two gerunds here is supported by all three texts.
153. 'en dos' i.e. into New and Old Testaments; Amst's 'en Dios' would mean that a division of the Law has no basis in the principle of One God.
166. Isaiah 44.6: 'Yo el primero, y yo el postrero, y fuera de mí no ay Dios'
170. R/Liv. has an additional stanza here: 'Tantos santos patriarcos [sic]/ tantos justos y perfectos/ que a questa pluralidad/ no adoraron, se perderieron .' It adds little to the poem's argument and is repetitious; no doubt it is a later accretion.
174. See note line 126.
- 179-82 omitted in R/Liv. and replaced by the following lines:
- |                              |                                    |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| "Yo Dios y no Dios con migo" | "Vos mi estigos" dise Dios         |
| nos dise el sagrado testo    | per el profeta a su pueblo         |
| "y a fueros de mí no Dios"   | "que antes ni despues de mí        |
| quien esto niega es siego.   | no abe otro Dios, ni a de averlo". |
| <br>                         |                                    |
| "Yo Dios y no otro Dios"     | Pues si el no ace testigos         |
| como nos dise otro verso     | de este infalible argumento        |
| que mas claro desingño       | y per sustentarlos vivos           |
| se pretende a tanto sero     | nos esponemos a el fuego.          |
186. Exodus 20.5: 'No te harás imagen ni ninguna semejança'.
- 192-3 'dulía': veneration of saints; 'perdulía' i.e. 'hiperdulía' worship of the Virgin; 'latría': worship due to God alone.
194. Amst's 'nuestros' probably reads better than 'vuestros' of MS. Bod., suggesting that the following argument is based on or concerned with these three practices of Christian religion.
195. 'impulso' i.e. divine impulse, from God directly.
- 199-203. R/Liv. omits
200. A pun on 'hierro' (iron) and 'yerro' (error).
202. 'dueño': he who possesses it, i.e. the worshipper or read 'Dueño': God himself, the object of religion. Note use of preterite 'fue' for 'fuera' (for brevity).
207. cf. Eccles.1.2: 'Vanidad de vanidades: todo vanidad'.
211. The version given by Amst. and R/Liv. makes better sense (i.e. 'concentrate



its attentions on') than MS.Bod's 'aplaca los odios' ('appeases hatred') since this would detract from the main issue which is who has the power to pardon sin, God or an intermediary.

213. 'un hombre' i.e. Jesus.
- 215-24. The argument is lent weight through reference to the most important Old Testament authorities, Moses, the Law-giver; Isaiah the Prophet, and David, king and psalmist.
215. See Deut.9.15-21, where Moses recalls the incident of the Golden Calf, especially v.19-21: Y Iehovah me oyo tambien esta vez...Y tomé à vuestro pecado que auíades hecho el bezerro y quemelo en el fuego '.
217. 'alguna parte' reflects the Rabbinic view of the taint left by the episode of the Golden Calf on subsequent generations (see Chapter Four, p.124 )
- 219-22. Isaiah 44.21-2: 'Acuerdate, de estas cosas ô Iacob, y Israel, que mi sieuo eres...(22) Yo deshize, como nuue, tus rebelliones [sic], y tus peccados, como niebla: tornate à mí, porque yo te redemi.'
- 223-4. Psalm 77.16(A.V.v.15) 'Redimiste con brazo tu pueblo, los hijos de Iacob y de Ioseph'.
225. An allusion to the Crucifixion of Jesus.
230. 'el muerto': one would expect 'la muerte' to balance 'la vida' but a double meaning is intended - the dead in general and one particular man has died (Jesus); 'estuvo' i.e. 'estuviera' cf.'fue' l.202 .
232. 'vuestro' is to be preferred to 'nuestro' of the other texts since the reference is clearly to the Christian argument, not that of the speaker.
258. 'tuvieron': 'estuvieron' would make a better reading according to the sense, though the idea of 'tener de' is possibly intended viz. the line is a contraction of 'que antes cuando tuvieron de morir'. In any case the reference is to the idea that Jesus' death had brought the possibility of eternal life to mankind.
- 266: MS. R/Liv. has sixteen lines of its own to conclude:
- |                               |                            |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Stadme atento, Señor          | Pues porque quereis que yo |
| sin pasion os ruego           | con rason a el intelecto   |
| que mireis a questa causa     | devo dejar la de Dios      |
| a solos en v(uestr)o o pecho. | per la que no tiene Dueno? |

El no à dado Ley ninguna  
ni derogò el ser ebreo  
antes, esortò a guardarla  
[dizen] v(uestr)os evangelios.

El os guarde y encamine  
a v(uestr)a casa y convento  
donde a son de cappellan  
os llama el ...(?)

(text as in Roth's transcription, without emendation)

267. The mention of 'Antioco' brings the poem back to the Maccabean analogy (see line 14) in preparation for the conclusion of this first speech.
272. A reference to the fact that Lope de Vera was a convert: he vows to be as one who was born a Jew.
275. An interesting comparison in view of the themes of Samsón Nazareno. Note(1.278) 'filisteo' is synonymous with Babel (1.279) or Christianity as in the other poem (see Chapter 6, p. 206)
280. Shadrach, Mishach and Abednego, see Daniel 3.12ff.
- 285-6. 2 Kings 2.11: Elijah taken up to heaven in a chariot of fire.
301. The poet does not disguise his feelings about the Inquisition.
320. Isaiah 6.1-2: 'vide àl Señor sentado sobre una silla (Cypriano de Valera ed., 1602: 'throno') alta y sublime y sus faldas henchian el Templo (2) Y encima del estaua seraphines'.
323. Exodus 3.15: 'Iehoua el Dios de vuestros padres, el Dios de Abraham, Dios de Isaac, y Dios de Iacob... Este es mi Nombre para siempre'. For discussion of parallels between this passage and the Amidah prayer in Jewish liturgy, see Chapter Four, p. 151 ff.
- 333-6. Isaiah 51.17: 'los sacrificios de Dios es el espiritu quebrantado. el coraçon contrito y molido ô Dios, no menospreciarás.'
338. 'conceto': pun with sense of concept and conceit with reference to the notion that life is to be found in death.
- 341ff. The amatory image developed here recalls both the biblical tradition (Song of Songs, Isaiah etc.) and that of Christian mystical poetry in the Golden Age.
354. The description of golden hair reflects Golden Age stereotype cf. Song 1.5. 'Morena soy... mas de cobdiciar.'
357. Song.1.15. 'he aqui que tu eres hermosa: tus ojos, de paloma'.
358. 'pero no negros' i.e. as those of the dove.
359. Song.4.5: 'Tus dos tetas, como dos cabritos mellizos de gama, que son apacentados entre los lyrios.'



364. 'ministerio': the priestly line from Aaron onwards (Exodus 28) as guardians of the Law; MS. Amst. reads 'hcmisferio' a word used frequently by Enríquez Gómez for the world and would refer to the creation of the world at God's command (Genesis 1.1.)
369. 'ésta es': MS. form 'esta' must represent 'ésta' and not 'está' since the verb 'ser' is required grammatically in this context. 'Es' has accordingly been supplied; 'ésta' refers to the topic of the whole passage, 'la Ley'.
372. Psalm 25.1: 'A ti, O Iehoua, levantaré mi anima.' Spinoza in a letter to Augustus Burgh (Spinoza: Opera, Hague, 1914, vol.III, pp.231-5) dated 1676, appears to be referring to this passage in the poem when he says (of Lope) 'In media flammis... hymnum qui incipit "Tibi Deum animam meam offero" canere incipit.' The available Latin translations of the Bible do not use the verb 'offerō' (e.g. Vulgate: 'levavi'); unless this derives from Spinoza's own free translation or paraphrase, it would indicate that he knew Enríquez's poem and recognized the source to which the poet was alluding. Further, though the Egerton MS, described Lope de Vera as singing a psalm, the one referred to is Psalm 26 (Vulgate 25) beginning 'Judica me, Domine' (MS.Egerton 2058, fol.203<sup>v</sup>). This suggests that Spinoza has derived his information from Enríquez's passing biblical allusion or confused the psalm in question under the influence of his poem.
381. The prophecy which begins here is the poet's own invention and does not derive from known records, except in that its messianic theme recalls MS.Egerton 2058 (fol.203<sup>r</sup>) which refers to supposed messianic claims made by Lope de Vera (cf. Chapter Three, note 45).
385. The Book of Daniel, the most popular of messianic sources and basis of this prophecy; see Chapter Three, pp. 80-1.
393. 'América': the analogy appears to be with the 'naues de Chitim' (Rome or according to Reyna, Greece) mentioned in Daniel 11.30 as attacking Egypt, while the specific designation of the avenging force as America may have been influenced by Antonio Vieira's view of Dutch power

(see Chapter Three, p.93 ) as well as the belief widely held among Jews that the discovery of the New World was of messianic influence (cf. note following).

398-400. cf. Daniel 11.18: 'Boluera despues su rostro a las islas y tomará muchas y un Principe le hara parar su venganza, y aun boluerá sobre su vengança.'. Attacker and avenger are combined in a reference possibly to Columbus and his discovery of Cuba, Haiti and other islands in the period immediately following his arrival on San Salvador, 12 October, 1492. Amst.'s 'trece días' (cf. Bod.: 'tres') makes better sense therefore, as well as being demanded by the scansion. The future bringer of revenge would, according to the poet, be someone of Columbus' stature.

401-2. The phrasing suggests events which begin in 'forty-eight' and continue into 'forty-nine': the reference may be either to Cromwell's victory in England in 1648 and execution of Charles I in 1649 or to the Fronde in France (1648-9). The second appears more probable in view of the poet's presence in France at the time, the dedication of Sansón Nazareno to Condé (the 'consejo' of l.402 would be the King's Council in which Condé showed himself antagonistic to Mazarin), and the details given in lines 403-4 which apply to the Fronde.

403-4. Civil disturbances were a feature of the Veille Fronde or Fronde parlementaire. Note that the Zoharitic year of 1648 is only obliquely mentioned but the allusion to events of that year suggest an awareness of its importance as heralding a time of change. Also, it may be observed that it is in the nature of this type of prophecy to refer to past or contemporary events while proclaiming to talk of the future, since it adds a sense of authenticity to it (cf. Vieira's 'syllogism' p. 93 above)

405. Possibly 'América' (l.393) is designated and seen as forming a dissembling alliance with Turks and Arabs (l.406 'sitas y agarenos'). This would combine the threat from the new enemy of Christendom with that of their old antagonists for supremacy in the Mediterranean area. The parallel in



Daniel would be the fusion through conquest of the empires of Persians, Medes and Babylonians in Daniel 11.2. For the identification of 'Persians' with Turks, see Joseph d'Arles, Isaac Abravanel, Luther etc., who all saw them as the arm of God against Rome. Alternatively, the reference may be to the Venetians seen as subjugated to Turkish power: they were also 'water-dwellers'.

409. i.e. fifteen years and four days, bringing the date to 1664, if it is accepted that the dates given appear to refer to the seventeenth century.
- 410-12. The parallel is with the wars of the Persians and Greeks, Daniel 11.2, the first being the 'orientals' who encroach upon the region of Olympus or Greece.
414. 'sesenta' is to be preferred to 'setenta' in MSS. Bod. and Amst., in order to maintain the chronological progression of the passage.
415. cf. Isaiah 8.21-22: 'Entonces passaràn por esta tierra fatigados y hambrientos...(22) Y mirando à la tierra, he aqui tribulacion y tiniebla, escuridad, angustia: y à la escuridad, empellon.'  
The passage also reflects Daniel 9.25: 'tiempos angustiosos'
- 417-24. These two prophets are not mentioned in the Book of Daniel; the allusion may be to Christianity and Mohamedanism or to two new religions whose emergence would add to the general confusion of the times. Note that Isaac Abravanel among others in the 16th century saw the Crusades as bringing about the end of both these religions (see A.H.Silver, A History of Messianic Speculation, 2nd ed., Boston, 1959, p.128).
425. 'setenta' is to be preferred to Amst.'s 'sesenta' for the same reasons as for the converse in line 413.
426. The significance of 'catorce' is not readily apparent but the cryptic use of numbers is typical of this type of prophecy. The destruction of temples and idol accords with the poem's theme of idolatry and anticipates the events of line 476 ff. Compare Nostradamus's prophecy of the fall of Rome (Centuries, Rouen, 1649, IX.65).

- 429-40. For references to false prophets, see Daniel 11.14, Jeremiah 14.13-16, Ezechiel 21.23 etc. which later commentators saw as warnings against false Messiahs of which there were many, Jewish and Christian, in the 15-17th centuries. If the attribution of the poem to Enríquez Gómez is accepted, the allusion here cannot be to the obvious candidate, Sabbetai Zevi and his 'prophet', Nathan of Gaza, whose activities were not known in western Europe until 1660 (long after the probable date of the poem's composition, 1648). It is more probable that he has in mind David Reubeni and Shlomo Molho who made their appearance in the previous century. Molho at least died 'en la plaza de Babel' i.e. in the hands of the Inquisition (Badajoz, 1538).
441. The date is repeated, line 475, as the poet's equivalent of 'hasta tiempos (y) tiempos y medio de un tiempo', Daniel 7.25 and 12.7 (see Chapter Three, p. 86)
442. Nimrod, king of Babylon, symbol of Pride and rebellion against God (Genesis 10.9; 11.1-9 concerning the Tower of Babel).
444. The number thirty indicates the total disintegration of the Christian world, or, perhaps, more specifically of the Holy Roman Empire in the wake of the Thirty Years' War. For the biblical parallel of the destruction of the Fourth Kingdom, see Daniel 7 (esp. v. 19ff) and 11.
447. The Fourth Beast symbolizes the Fourth Kingdom as in Daniel 7.
449. The eighth month (August) corresponds approximately to the month of Ab in the Hebrew calendar, in which the solemn fast of the Ninth of Ab falls, commemorating the destruction of the First and Second Temples. Some Jewish authorities held that the happiest of events, like the saddest, would also take place in this month.
450. Comets are traditionally considered to foretell momentous events: the Christian messianist Felgenhauer saw the comets of 1618 and 1652 as heralding the Second Coming (see A.H. Silver, *opcit.*, p. 164).
457. i.e. Daniel 12.1, as indicated by 'una gente', l. 459: 'mas en aquel tiempo tu pueblo escapará'.
461. Tubal signifies Spain: note the title of the poet's work mentioned by Manuel Fernandes Vilareal in his preface to Academias morales,



'el poema de Tubal' (see above, p. 68) This work may have been messianic but more probably at that date (1642) dealt with Spain's troubles in Portugal.

'dividido en dos': a reference to Portuguese secession cf. MS. Amst.

'diez' signifying the total break-up of the Spanish Empire.

464. The humble origins of these leaders reflects the tradition of messianic claimants; see above, Chapter Six, p. 227 & note 13.
466. i.e. the sixth year of the ninth decade, 1686.
467. Many messianic sources talk of an upheaval in present religions after the Coming; here the new order appears to be established before the Coming, with all other faiths whatever their merits giving way before the true faith. Alternatively, this may be a reference to the events of Daniel 7.25-7, where the 'los Sanctos del Altissimo' ('los buenos') are abased but in turn triumph over the subjugating religion ('los malos').
469. 'se conocerán': will be recognized, accepted. The reference is to the Jews proper, the descendents of the surviving, non-extinguished tribes of Judah and Benjamin, in contrast to the Lost Tribes ('los nueve y medio'). Possibly 'fuera de' (l. 427) implies that this recognition is in addition to the re-discovery of the Lost Tribes themselves.
- 473-4. Either further upheaval occasioned by divisions and wars between peoples or, in view of the preceding, the assembly of native-born Jews and those from abroad in the Holy Land.
476. see note l. 441.
477. i.e. the Inquisition
- 479-84. cf. Isaiah 11.6: 'Morirá el lobo con el cordero, y el tigre con el cabrito se acostará; el bezerro, y el leon, y la bestia domestica andarán juntos, y un niño los pasoreará (7) la vaca y la ossa pacerán, sus crias se echarán juntas: y el leon, como bucy, comerá paja'.  
In view of the discrepancies between the poem and the above, it seems possible that the poet may be using the animals mentioned to denote

countries, in the manner of Nostradamus ( see Chapter Three, p. 95 ). For instance, the eagle might designate the Holy Roman Empire and the(crescent ) moon the Turks. Line 479 draws on Isaiah 40.31: 'Mas los que esperan à Iehoua aurán nuevas fuerças, leuantarán las alas, como aguilas'.

- 483-4. This may return in time to 'three full years' after the first two 'tiempos' referred to 11.441 & 476 or look forward to the first stages of the new era.
488. These are the just princes who have dealt kindly with Jews, such as the rulers of Ferrara and Livorno. Note Manasseh ben Israel also refers to them in Esperanza de Israel, Chapter XVIII, p.107
- 491-2. A conqueror and liberator like Cyrus (see Daniel 9.24) who released the Jews from the Babylonian Exile and whose empire contained the three provinces of Media, Lydia and Babylon.
493. 'noventa' completes the Jubilee period of (16)40-90 and we now move on to the completion of the total prophecy at a point relatively more distant in time.
495. Cyrus extended his empire to the Indus, while the Spanish took theirs to the West Indies: the new empire will be as large as both of these, encompassing the whole world.
- 497.ff. This most complex passage of the poem is based on the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel 9.24-5 (see Chapter Three, pp. 82-5). The calculation of each week as one Jubilee finds its justification in the phrase 'descanso seteno' (1.502): just as the six days of the week end in the 'seventh (day of) rest' of the Sabbath, so each cycle of seven sabbatical years ends in the 'rest' of the Jubilee. The other possibility that the 'rest' can be interpreted as the Sabbatical or seventh year itself is no doubt rejected as giving too short a total period which would not fit so conveniently in with the notion of the six millenia duration of the world. The calculation by Jubilees from the date of the Exodus (2448AM) produces the year 5948 Anno Mundi.
501. The insistence that Daniel's prophecy has not yet come to pass is a way



of ruling out the messiahship of Jesus.

503. i.e. 'setenta semanas' or the fulfilment of the prophecy associated with them.
505. The number seven is used to fit in with its exploitation in the previous lines (497-503).
509. See Daniel 10.15 for the emissary who foretells the wars related in Daniel, chapter 11, which lead to the end of the empire of tyranny. Here he seems to take the place of Elijah or the Messiah ben Joseph, who are both supposed to precede the Messiah (ben David) himself, and prepare the world for the new age.
511. A Kabbalistic or pseudo-Kabbalistic use of the number three cf. 'tres horas' in line 507.
515. Zechariah 8.23: 'En aquellos dias acontecerá que diez varones de todas las lenguas de las Gentes trauarán de la halda del varon Iudio, diziendo, Vamos con vosotros, porque hemos oydo, que Dios es con vosotros. This is the acknowledgement by other nations of the new order led by Israel.
517. See Exodus 7.17.ff. for events prior to the Exodus from Egypt, the biblical parallel for the messianic liberation; likewise, the reference (1.518) to the Red Sea.
519. Michael (Daniel 10.13,21 and 12.1) and Gabriel (Dan.10.5), the guardian angels of Israel and messengers of Israel to others.
521. Amst.'s 'repudiada' makes clearer the reference to the Jews here.
523. The prophecy appears to return to its starting point (Daniel 11) with its reference to wars and armies of retribution (cf.1.381.ff). The same kind of repetitiveness, typical of the genre, is observable in the references to the acknowledgement of Jews by others (469 & 515) and to cataclysmic upheavals (11.413-6 & 526)
525. repeats 1.391 'en los páramos del mundo'
527. Daniel 12.1: 'y será tiempo de angustia'.
529. 'llamará' cf. Amst.'s 'clamara' (cry out) which would suggest the kind of suffering by Israel which is frequently interpreted as a sign of

- the imminence of the Coming (as in the case of the Chmielnicki massacres of 1648). However an accepted earlier sense of 'clamar' is that of 'llamar' and this suits better the gathering momentum of the passage towards the final climax, in which the Law of Israel emerges triumphant. (Note that while the initial 'l' in MS. Bod. might be taken for 'c', its formation is similar to that in 'llamas', l.508 and 'lhamar', l.465)
536. Numbers 24.17: 'Saldra Estrella de Iacob, y levantarseha sceptro de Israel'.
538. Isaiah 9.6: 'Principe de Paz'.
540. Numbers 24.18: 'Y sera tomada Edom... y Israel se abrá varonilmente'.
543. Isaiah 2.3: 'Porque de Sion saldrá la Ley: y de Ierusalem la palabra de Iehoua'.
549. See the theme of idolatry in the poem's first speech.



B. 'Sansón Nazareno'i) Bibliographical Description of the work.

Title-page: SANSON NAZARENO / POEMA HEROICO / por / ANTONIO HENRIQUEZ GOMEZ./  
(triangular ornament, bouquet)/ EN RVAN / En la emprenta de  
LAVRENÇO MAVRRY./ (half rule) /M.DC.LVI / CON LICENCIA.

Format: Quarto.

Collation: [Title-page]  $\tilde{a}^4 - \tilde{e}^2$ , A-Tt<sup>4</sup>, Vv<sup>2</sup>. In accordance with the practice of Rouen printers, the primaries are signed in order of the vowels as they appear in the alphabet (viz.  $\tilde{a}, \tilde{e}, \tilde{i}, \tilde{o}, \tilde{u}$ ). Also apparently a practice in Rouen is the signing of the first two leaves in each quire (A i, A ii) leaving the other two blank. Exceptions are  $\tilde{a} i$  (title-page),  $\tilde{e} ii$  and Vv ii(blank), all unsigned.

Contents: Title-page; preliminaries (9 pages, unpaginated) - author's prologue, printer's preface (p.9); text, paginated 1-338 including fourteen copper engravings, signed Daquet, facing the first page of each canto. The text contains 920 octavas reales (7,360 lines) in fourteen cantos with average of 60 octavas per canto (range:58-82).

Disposition of type: 27 lines per page, occupying space 19x12 cms. (text) or 18.5x13 (preliminaries and plates).<sup>1</sup>

Editions: First edition -1656; no further complete editions. Some extracts were published by A.Durán in Romancero y cancionero sagrados, Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol.35,p.313 (no.757): this contains the opening stanza of the poem (S.N.I.1) and five stanzas from the final speech of Samson (S.N.XIV.64-8). The Prologue is also reproduced by A.Porqueros Mayo in El prólogo en el manierismo y barroco españoles, Madrid,1968,pp.213-17.

Copies: Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid; Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen; British Museum; Hispanic Society of America; Professor E.M.Wilson, Emanuel College, Cambridge.

Close comparison of three of these copies (Rouen,B.M,Wilson) reveals a small difference in the dimensions of the space occupied by the letter press

in one of the copies (Wilson, minus lmm.), owing to the slightly thicker paper used. Otherwise, there is no apparent difference typographically between the copies examined, which suggests that there was probably no correction undertaken in the course of printing.

ii) The dating of the poem.

The title-page of Sansón Nazareno bears the date of 1656, but, as the printer, Laurent Maurry, explains in his foreword to the work, this was the date when printing was completed rather than the date when it was written. He states:

Di principio a la estampa deste poema en el año 1649 y la fui  
siguiendo hasta el canto décimo tercio, en cuyo tiempo lo suspendí  
por faltarme el último. Enfin llegó a mi poder...

(S.N.p.xi)

Two principal questions arise from this: firstly, the first thirteen cantos were already written in 1649, but when was the last canto written? Secondly, is Maurry telling the truth concerning the printing of the last canto? Was it indeed printed later than the rest?

a) The last canto - its date of composition: To deal with the first question, the import of Maurry's words is that he was concerned only with his not being in possession of the last canto - 'por faltarme el último', 'llegó a mi poder' etc. The indirectness of his phrasing suggests that it was indeed written but that forces outside his control prevented it from either reaching him or otherwise being available for printing.

Further, there is little in the way of internal literary evidence to suggest that the last canto is later in date than the rest. Since the poet's circumstances changed between 1649 and 1656, one might expect to find some reflection of that change; for instance, a higher incidence of grammatical errors, unpolished style, particularly repetitiveness of language and imagery,



or other signs of disruption in the poet's way of life. In addition, one might expect to find alterations in tone, a lack of continuity and inconsistencies of detail which would stem from the poet no longer being in possession of his manuscript of the rest of the poem. However, there is little evidence of the first type. A plural verb ('estaban', XIV.8) for the collective noun 'consejo' might be considered a grammatical error, but it is one which is excusable in view of the presence of a parenthetical phrase which might suggest there are two 'consejos' not one ('El consejo de estado, el de justicia'). It is not one which is repeated elsewhere in the canto while it does occur elsewhere in the poem. Repetitiveness of imagery is a feature of Enríquez Gómez's style in general and there are no more examples here than elsewhere. As for the tone or general style of the last canto, that has not altered, save for a natural movement towards the climax of the poem which the last canto presents, a sense of momentousness not present before. There is perhaps a greater concentration on the imaginative and colourful presentation of the Philistines and their cult than is seen elsewhere (see st.11) but on the other hand this serves to set the scene for Samson's physical and moral triumph.

There is perhaps an element of lack of continuity in the portrayal of Samson, in that his main concern at the end of Book XIII is with his betrayal by Dalida, while here he is shown in a mood of repentance, wishing to atone for his sins. However, this is consistent with his progress from a situation in which he has neglected his duty to God towards the point where he can be adjudged worthy to be forgiven and granted the powers to destroy his enemies. Besides he still has a sharp word to say in Dalida's direction: 'Dalida me vendió como villana' (XIV.50) and he still maintains the distinction between her and his first love, Dalestina ('inadvertida', st.50).

On the level of points of detail, there are several examples that may be significant. Firstly, there is the description of the status of Dagón, which though broadly the same as in Book IX.3-9 with, trident, crown and

serpent twisted round his leg, has one important difference. This is that the figure is now shown as standing upon a lion: 'Las desiguales plantas estribaban/ Sobre un león de acero prodigioso'(XIV.6), whereas before he was also trampling upon the serpent which wound round his feet (IX.3). One might have expected the statue to have been exactly the same, especially as the poet has taken some pains (a proof indeed of continuity) to identify the temple setting as the cavern of Pluto transformed by a cunning hand (see IX.26 where Fitón makes the cavern roof open up). However, there is a literary purpose which outweighs the pursuit of exactitude, namely the symbolic presentation of Samson as a lion or the Lion of Judah. The description of Dagón's statue in this way underlines the (temporary) success of the pagan deity over the representative of God.

Another example is that of the priest who urges the assembled company to praise their god and give thanks to Dalida for her part in their triumph. It seems odd in view of the use of the character of Fitón as a dramatic link to explain the change in the narrative from wars to love-affairs that it should not be he who carries out this function. It would in addition have underlined the apparent fulfilment of his prognostications. But if this is so it is equally true of Book XII where it is a priest named Avino who holds out to Dalestina the prospect of marriage to the king: it would have been logical to cast Fitón in that rôle too. This means that such inconsistencies of detail are no more liable to occur in the last canto than in the other thirteen. Lastly, in stanza 37, Samson refers to his six encounters with Balonte's armies on the field of battle. At first sight this seems an exaggeration since, strictly speaking, he only encountered the Philistines once while Balonte was in charge and even taking 'tu ejército' as meaning the Philistines in general, the suggestion of six formal battles is an overstatement. However, if one totals up the military encounters of all kinds in which Samson takes part in the poem, they are indeed six in number: his assault on the baggage-train (V), two battles in Book VI, initial slaying of Philistines with the ass's jaw-bone and the battle which subsequently



develops (VIII) and the set-piece battle of Book IX (ignoring the ambush in Gaza, Book X, and warfare alluded to by Samson, Book XII.23, as falling within the part of the poem concerned with 'beauties', not 'wars'). This being so, there is a marked contrast with Samson's boastful account of his deeds in Book XI.56: 'Diez veces he vencido al Cananeo, / Dos a Moab, catorce al felestinio'. That demonstrated his pride and forgetfulness of his reliance on God for his strength; it is entirely appropriate that as he repents his ways, his reference to his military deeds should be something almost of an understatement. This and the other examples given point to the last canto as being fully integrated with the rest of the poem and to the poet making full use of the interconnecting strands.

Finally, a lesser degree of closeness between poem and Old Testament source in the last canto might indicate different circumstances of composition. From our earlier analysis of the use of the Book of Judges, this would appear to be the case, there being many instances of deviation from the source. However all of these deviations can be justified on literary grounds: for example, the crowd echoing the praise of Dalida rather than the praise of Dagón, cf. Judg. 16.24) emphasises the role played by women and Dalida in particular in Samson's downfall; Balonte's raillery at Samson's expense is part of the hero's 'making sport' and Samson's being led to the pillars towards the end of the scene (cf. immediately he is brought up from the prison, Judg. 16.25) integrates this action with his final deed and appropriately sets him apart from the festivities of the Philistines so that he may pray alone. At the same time, the essential biblical narrative is maintained as in the other cantos. What does appear to be happening in the last canto is that the poet is concentrating his efforts on working towards the climax of his poem and that this takes precedence over biblical fidelity. This is in all probability the significance of the apparent difference, between this canto and the others.

On the whole, therefore, there seems to be no reason to suppose that the fourteenth canto of Sansón Nazareno was not written at the same time as the rest of the poem, that is to say in or before 1649.

b) The printing of the last canto: the evidence in support of Maurry's explanation that the last canto was printed later than the first thirteen cantos is as follows. To begin with the typographical evidence, while the space occupied by the printed text is the same throughout the poem, the running titles which appear at the top of each page are shorter in length in the last canto, or, to be precise, from quire Rr (p.313, the last page of Book XIII) onwards. The right-hand page title, DE A.HENRIQUEZ GOMEZ, measures 8.3, 8.4 or 8.5 mms. as compared with 8.6, 8.9, 9.0 mms elsewhere. The left-hand title, SANSON, LIBRO XIV, is less reliable but points generally in the same direction, that is to say, if one omits the canto number for the sake of fair comparison, the title SANSON, LIBRO measures 4.9, 5.0 or 5.2 mms. as compared with 5.4, 5.6, 5.7 or 5.8 in the three preceding cantos. Measurements of 5.0 and 5.2 occur elsewhere (Books VI and VII for example) as well as on pages 310 and 312 (respectively) in quire Qq, in a way which seems to anticipate the change in the next quire and work against the idea of a break in the printing. However, on the whole, there does appear to be a discernible difference in these titles from quire Rr onwards, suggesting a slight change of approach on the part of the type-setter due to an interruption in procedure.

Secondly, if one compares the incidence of typographical errors, that is to say, those which would appear to derive in all probability from the printing rather than from the poet's hand,<sup>2</sup> it is higher here than in the previous cantos. There are sixteen examples: 'perfecisiona'(st.2) 'ninchos'(3), 'thorno' (7), 'escalonios' for 'ascalonios' (11) 'alto voz' and 'csta' for 'esta' (13), 'fausnos' (21), 'mientres' (23), 'hebuseo' for 'jebuseo'(25,30) 'excuta' (52), 'paidoso'(56), 'hebro' for 'hebreo'(57), 'lleño'(58), 'excersitos'(59) and 'sacude' for 'sacuda'(62). This compares with 6,7,8,



4,7,4,9,14,11,9,10,14 and 7 in Books I-XIII. Only Books VIII and XII have a comparable number of errors of this kind (14) -close enough perhaps to warn us against making too much of this point. On the other hand, in addition to the number of printing errors, there are some examples of orthography which do not occur elsewhere in the work: 'felestín' (5.iii, 15.vii, cf. 'felestín' or 'felisteo' elsewhere), 'dizir' (20.vii cf. 'decir' elsewhere), 'hebuseo' (25.viii, 30.iv, cf. 'gebuseo' or even 'guebuseo'), 'inexpugnable' (40.iii, cf. 'inespugnable'), 'rindir' (41.i, cf. 'rendir'), 'Samson' (64.vii for 'Sanson') and possible 'santos' (61.ii) whose orthography is usually, though not exclusively, latinized to 'sancto' (etc.). The example of 'dizir' is most significant, since the form is also found in Maurry's preface (S.N.p.xi), which, given that the preliminaries of a work are normally printed last, must date from 1656. Together both types of example may suggest a later printing of the last canto with the poet absent and unable to check the proofs of his poem or a more hurried execution of the printing in keeping with the desire to speedily complete and publish a work which had been on the presses too long.

As against these arguments, there is the fact that in the copies of the poem examined in each case the same paper is used throughout: if the work was being printed on at least two different types of paper, is it not likely that a break in printing might lead to a mixture being used in a given copy? This is not the case. However, the numbers of copies involved are not sufficient to yield a valid statistic, either in support or in contradiction of the argument. Nonetheless, one may observe that the difference between the types of paper is readily discernible, the one being noticeably thicker than the other. An experienced worker would see this at once, particularly if the paper came from local suppliers who, one imagines, would be drawn on regularly, year after year.<sup>3</sup>

On balance, there seems little reason to doubt Maurry's word when he says that he began printing the poem in 1649 but printed the last canto

(rather: quires Rr<sup>4</sup>-Vu<sup>2</sup>) only later: there is even some evidence to support his contention. At the same time, he is somewhat vague as to the reason why he was not in possession of Enríquez Gómez's last canto. One possibility one might suggest is that the work had been confiscated by the authorities as a result of the disfavour into which the poet had fallen and the suspicion that all his writings might, with the example of the Política angélica (see Chapter Two) in mind, be potentially troublesome. One notes that on the occasion of that affair the instruction was given to seize not only the copies and manuscripts of Política angélica but also 'tout ce qui se trouvera avoir esté composé par led. Gomes'<sup>4</sup>. Clearly if, as has been shown, Sansón Nazareno belongs to the same mood and period (1648 onwards) as the Romance, it cannot have been among the works then confiscated, but this may be taken as an indication of the official attitude to his writings. However, it is difficult to understand, in this case, why the last canto should have been the object of particular scrutiny and not have been returned to the printer together with the rest of the work. Moreover, La Torre de Babilonia which was printed in 1649 does not appear to have been affected, even though by its satirical character one might imagine that it would arouse greater suspicion than Sansón Nazareno.

The second possibility is that the poet left France in too much of a hurry to be able to pass on the last part of the poem to his printer. He would then have had to find the means to send it back to Rouen from Spain, which given the poet's business connections would have been quite feasible. This is perhaps the most obvious suggestion. Indeed there is some evidence to support this in a reference made by the poet in his preface (S.N. Prólogo, p.v) to Georges Brébeuf's translation of Lucan's Pharsalia, (La Pharsale de Lucain) which was published in six parts of two cantos each between 19 January, 1653 (date of privilège) and 10 October, 1655 (date of the work's achevé d'imprimer)- i.e. at a time when Enríquez Gómez was already in Spain. There is every indication from Brébeuf's prefaces to the later parts that composition and printing were proceeding hand in hand, without undue



delay, though it must be allowed that this may not have been the case with the first part, which may have been composed at any time during the period of the Fronde (1648-53) to which the work alludes in its theme of civil war. On the whole this suggests that at least part of the poet's preface was written later than 1649 and then sent to Maurry; if so, then the last canto could have been sent with it.

On the other hand, Gómez's reference to Brébeuf is of a most general and formal kind, implying no intimate knowledge of the work, nor necessarily of it as a whole: 'Brébeuf, en su traducción francesa de la Farsalia de Lucano, se mostró más heroico y realzado que el autor latino.' Secondly, it is quite possible - even probable - that he knew Brébeuf personally, that he was aware of his project and perhaps saw his unpublished manuscript of the first part, since both he and Brébeuf were in Rouen in the 1640's, had in Laurent Maurry the same printer and moved in the same literary circles (Brébeuf's work is dedicated to Archbishop Harlay, patron of the arts and earlier patron of Maurry: see Chapter One, p.11 ). Lastly, it would appear odd that the poet should have amended his preface to include a single reference to a more recently published work when his whole view is retrospective to Madrid in the 1620-30's and France in the 1640's. Even those literary figures mentioned who survived beyond 1649 (e.g. Calderón) are not referred to in any particular way or in any specific detail which relates to the later rather than the earlier period.

Thus it would be wrong to read too much into this unique reference to Brébeuf's Pharsale, although the possibility exists that part of the preface dates from after the poet's departure from France (though without in any way proving that either the whole of the preface or Canto XIV are of the later period also). One would conclude, therefore, that the reason for Maurry's delay in completing the printing of Sansón Nazareno lies, as we have suggested, in the confusion surrounding the poet's precipitate departure which led him by an oversight to take with him those parts of his

work which he owed to his printer. It is of course possible that Maurry is equivocating, that he was in possession of these parts all the time, but thought it prudent not to proceed in view of Gómez's disfavour and his dedication of the poem to the Condé and that later on he was impatient to reap some return on his outlay of capital. However, this would seem unnecessarily to seek mystery in a situation where the literal interpretation makes sense.

What we can say for sure is that when Maurry received the last canto and the Prólogo, he would have proceeded to complete it with all speed, for, though there is no evidence that he was short of work or money in 1656,<sup>5</sup> he cannot have wished this particular project to remain unproductive any longer. Moreover, there was the incentive of capitalizing on the current enthusiasm for Spanish works in that period<sup>6</sup> which Maurry delicately expresses as bowing to the pleas 'de muchas personas aficionadas de la poesía española'. Of course, in 1656, the Condé was still in disgrace but the omission of the poet's dedication to him neatly avoided that problem.

Thus, to restate our conclusion, Sansón Nazareno was indeed printed at two dates, 1649 and 1656, but written at only one (1648-9).

### iii) The present edition of the poem.

In producing an edition of a work which has already appeared in print, the approach has been different from that adopted in the case of the manuscript of the Romance. There the intervention of a copyist of different linguistic background from the poet had its influence on the text and made it difficult to discern which features were due to the copyist and which to the poet. Here, it can be assumed that on the whole the printer has reproduced the text as written by the author, both in terms of content and orthography. (The presence of 'agradescan' and 'disgracia', cf. 1a & 3a below, in the printer's preface which one presumes was not written by the poet, may throw a little



doubt on this assumption but it is not critical.) However, to produce a facsimile of the original edition would be tedious for the reader and put unnecessary irritations, if not obstacles, between him and the words which the poet has written. Having taken the decision to amend the given text, the principle which has been followed has been to modernize the orthography, punctuation, accentuation etc., but to preserve those features which appear to represent either linguistic reality or some meaningful choice on the part of the poet. The details are as follows:

1. Features altered without further note (all examples passim unless otherwise indicated):

a) Substitutions x/j/g (+ 'e' or 'i') ( eg. 'exes', 'elije');  
b/u/v (eg. 'reciue', 'nueuo'); ph/f (eg. 'Phelestin'); th/t (eg. 'Thamá');  
ch/qu/c (eg. 'Ezechiel', 'sepulchro'); qu/cu (eg. 'quando'); y/i (eg. 'parayso');  
i/j (eg. 'ioven'); m/n (eg. 'triumpho' cf. 'impulso'), all of which are purely formal and have no linguistic significance. This is also the case with the omission or addition of 'h', as in 'oy' or 'hechar'. The substitutions s/ss/sc/z/c/c (examples: 'ofresco', 'passos', 'sciencia', 'zañudo', 'braços', 'tracender') are also amended, although they represent linguistic reality in that they reflect the author's seseo: it is unnecessary to preserve them, since it can be assumed that in all circumstances the sound is /s/. (An exception is made in cases where acceptable alternative forms exist in modern usage, as in 'trecentas', V.25.vii).

b) Deliberately latinized or archaized orthography: as in the case of 'sancto', 'sacrosancto', 'accento', 'succeder' (also 'succeso' and 'succesivo'), 'occeano' (Books I-X), 'laccivo' (I-X), 'obstentar', 'objecto', 'sumptuoso' (XIV.12.ii) and probably 'inracional' (VIII.47.iii and 50.iv). There seems no justification for keeping these forms which are purely orthographic and designed to reflect a real or supposed Latin etymology. On the other hand, forms which are acceptable to modern usage are preserved,

for example, 'obscurecer' (also 'obscurso') and 'yelo'.

c) Punctuation, accentuation and capitalization have been made to conform with modern practice.

2. Features amended with foot-note supplied:

a) Printing errors, that is to say forms which in all probability are due to a mistake in the type-setting; particularly wrong founts, as in 'pos' for 'por'(IX.44.vi) and 'csta' for 'esta' (XIV.13.viii). The substitution of 'ct' (single fount) for 't' in 'nactivo' (eg.V.22.vii) 'lectargo' (eg.IX.17.v.) and 'lactitud' (X.11.iii) probably falls into the same class, although it is possible that it is a fallacious latinism (see lb, above). Other printer errors are: omissions, such as 'retradas' for 'retratadas' (VII.12.ii); failure to note justification (eg.'sangrietas' for 'sangriētas',VIII.32.iii); addition of superfluous letters (eg.'ninchos' for 'nichos',XIV.3.viii); and improbable metathesis (eg.'paidoso' for 'piadoso',XIV.56.ii). Some examples of these errors may, of course, derive from carelessness on the part of the poet or the illegibility of his hand, as in the omission of the final 's' in I.64.viii: 'la sombras', in the one case, or the erratic confusion of vowels 'a','e' and 'o' in the other. Examples of the latter are: 'doma' for 'domo'(IX.8.viii),'melencolico' for 'melancólico' (V.1.vii) and 'revolviende' for 'revolviendo' III.60.i). It is doubtful whether these forms can have been intended by the poet and thus they have been dealt with in the same way as printer-errors.

b) Double letters for single or vice versa: for example, 'illustre' (Prol.p.1.10),'affecto' (I.3.vi), 'supplico' (II.11.iii), 'ecclipsar' (X.36.iv) cf.'guera'(I.28v),'arojan'(V.39.ii) etc. These forms may derive equally from the printer as from the poet(they have no linguistic significance), particularly the example of 'illustre'(cf.French 'illustre'). In view of this, it has been thought appropriate to note each example at the



foot of the page, rather than amend without note, as in the case of the examples referred to in section 1a, above. They are in any case relatively few in number.

### 3. Features left unaltered in the text:

a) The substitution i/e: this is an orthographic feature which goes well beyond what may be ascribed to simple error, since it occurs regularly in the spelling of some words whenever they occur or in the majority of cases. Examples are: 'impitu' (six examples, also 'impituoso'), 'trai' (for 'trae', 3rd.pers.sing., pres.tense; three examples), 'intiligencia' (ten examples as against two of correct form), 'himineo' (five to two correct forms) etc. The phenomenon is particularly noticeable with words such as 'tartario', 'sulfurio', 'impirio' (for 'impíreo', alternative form of 'empíreo') and 'linia' (noun and verb), which cease thereby to be proparoxytones. The change ensures that the final two vowels are taken as one syllable and that the stress, though unwritten, falls on what is now the penultimate (rather than antepenultimate) syllable. In the case of 'linia' (verb) a change in stress is brought about, as in the line: 'Linia de norte a sur su voz sonora/ la fama' (I.35.i-ii), where the correct form would add an unwanted syllable to the line. (Conversely, the form 'eliseo' in La Culpa, p.19.10, indicates that 'eo' counts two syllables and the stress is on the 'e' and not on the preceding 'i'.) The comparison of these examples (to which we can add 'liniando', II.38 and other parts of the same verbs elsewhere) with the forms which regularly appear, 'hebreo' / ('hebreá'), 'león', 'teatro' and 'desearas' (Culpa, 120.5), where 'eo' or 'ea' counts two syllables in each case, suggests that for Enríquez Gómez 'eo' or 'ea' cannot be unstressed and must take the stress on one or other of its component vowels, while 'io' or 'ia' must be used to represent them when they are unstressed. This is true despite the cases of 'purpúreo' (passim) and 'lineó' (I.65.i) where one would expect 'purpurio' and 'linió' according to his scheme of orthography (in both cases '-eo' counts one syllable).

The converse, 'e' for 'i', is less commonly found (cf. Romance) but one may point to the cases of 'recebido' (eight examples), 'recebir' (two examples) 'recebid' (one example) and 'felisteo' (four examples cf. some 40 examples of 'filisteo'). 'Tenieblas' occurs as often as 'tinieblas' (twice). On the whole it appears to be confined, as one can see, to parts of the verb 'recibir'.

Where there is only a single example of a given word exhibiting either substitution (i/e or e/i), the original form is retained. Where two different forms of the same word occur, these are not regularized but maintained as found in each case: for example, 'himeneo' (X.39.ii) where the dominant form is 'himineo'. Note, however, that in some instances correction has been made for reasons of clarity, prosody etc., as in the examples of 'estancia' for original 'istancia' (VII.2.iii) which might be taken as 'instancia'; 'Tagarino' for 'Tagareno' (VIII.42.viii) who might be thought to be a new character in the narrative; and 'sublime' for 'subleme' (VII.38.iii) where it is required to rhyme with 'imprime' and 'oprime'. 'Frasis' ('frases', Prol.v.20) and 'puide' ('puede', X.36.iv) may be taken as straightforward errors.

b) Other forms representing pronunciation, especially 's' for 'x', as in 'pretesto' (III.47.vii), 'estraño' (passim) and 'estinguir' (passim). Note also: 'cudicia' (majority form, eg. X.43.viii) and 'escurecer' (eg. II.9.vi, viii). On the other hand, the instances of 'o' replacing 'u' have not been retained, although they may well originate with the poet (cf. Romance; see p.332, above) on the grounds that they occur only in a minority of cases where the word appears (as in the single examples of 'profondo', Prol.iv.4; 'tribo', I.7.vi; 'impeto', VII.48.ii; 'mormuran', XI, 35.i, etc.). Only in the case of 'juventud' are as many as half (even then no more than half) given as 'joventud' (II.31.vii, III.7.v, 18.i). Lastly, the confusion of hard and soft 'g', as in 'lisonga' (X.46.ii) and 'entregen' (VIII.41.vi) has been regarded as orthographic idiosyncrasy, rather than a linguistic feature



and therefore amended with note as for section 2, above.

c) Attested seventeenth century forms, that is to say, forms given in the standard reference works, such as the dictionaries of Covarrubias and Martín Alonso<sup>7</sup>, for that period. For example, 'mauseolo' for 'mausoleo' (passim) and 'pavimiento'(VIII.54.v). 'Monstro' is found throughout the work, although in La culpa del primer peregrino 'monstruo' is the predominant form. It is so consistent here as to suggest deliberate choice on the poet's part and is moreover attested by Covarrubias. Conversely, forms not attested in this way have not been retained and have been dealt with as under section 2, above.

d) 'Culto' reduction of consonantal groups (eg. 'conceto', 'preceto', 'costante' etc.), contractions (eg. 'echalle', I.47.vii) and metathesis (eg. 'protento', VII.46.i; 'otroga', IV.52.ii; 'retorcediendo', I.51.vi, etc.). Where the full forms of the first are found, they are retained, as in the case of 'Egipto'(I.29.viii), which rhymes with 'prescrito'.

e) 'Incorrect' grammatical forms: except for cases of obvious error, such as 'alto voz' (XIV.13.viii), the grammar of the text is given unchanged, even though this may not conform with modern practice. Examples are 'tercer' for 'tercera' before a feminine noun (eg. XI.26.iv), 'enigma' treated as feminine (eg. IV.Arg.iv), and the use of singular verb for plural, as in 'Destémplese el valor y la cordura'(V.16.iii). Other forms which appear to be stylistic are also retained: for example, 'auro' for 'aureo' (eg. IX.36.ii), 'arbitrio' for 'arbitro'(eg. II.3.iv), and 'desengaza' for 'desengarza' (eg. VIII.46.v, to rhyme with 'plaza').

#### 4. General notes:

a) Proper names have been dealt with in accordance with the guidelines set out above, with the exception of those biblical names requiring double vowels in place of the single vowel of the original; these

are amended without notes, as in 'Isaac' for 'Isac'(VII.14.vii), 'Aarón' for 'Aron' (VII.31.ii) and 'Fineés' for 'Phines' (VII.34.i)

b) Abbreviations due to printer's justification are resolved and indicated by underlining, as in 'templo' for 'tēplo'(XIV.1.i).



Notes to Part Two (B)

1. All measurements here and below relate to the British Museum copy, press-mark 11451.g.16.
2. The criteria for judging printer- as opposed to author-errors are those set out in section iii.2a, below.
3. J.Quéniart, L'imprimerie et la librairie à Rouen au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Rennes, 1969, p.96, refers to the proximity of a large number of paper-mills to Rouen at the beginning of the eighteenth century: this was a long-established industry in Normandy.
4. See the Letter of the King to the Marquis of Niza, given in full by I.S.Révah, 'Un pamphlet contre l'inquisition', R.E.J., vol.121(1962), p.64.
5. An examination of his output indicates no fall-off in the 1650's; indeed, at this time he began to profit from his association with Pierre Corneille whose success as a dramatist provided him with a steady and increasing flow of work for distribution through Parisian booksellers. See E.Frère, Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen, MS.213, liasse 132 and J.Lepetit, Editions originales de écrivains français, Paris, 1888, p.132 ff.
6. According to H.J.Martin, Livre, pouvoirs et société, Geneva, 1969, vol.2, p.1071, graph X.3, the publication (in France) of works from Spanish was at its height in the period 1601-50: some forty were produced in 1641-50. Note also that heroic or epic poetry enjoyed a vogue in the period 1650-75 (op.cit., p.1075, graph XIV.1).
7. D.Covarrubias Horozco, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española... edición preparada por Martín de Riquer, Barcelona, 1943; M.Alonso, Enciclopedia del idioma, Madrid, 1958. Reference has also been made Real Academia Española, Diccionario de la lengua española, Madrid, 1925.